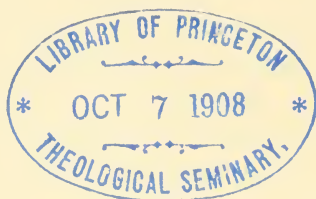


THE SPHERE
OF RELIGION

HOFFMAN



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The sphere of religion

By FRANK SARGENT HOFFMAN

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The Sphere of Religion

A Consideration of its Nature and
of its Influence upon the
Progress of Civilization

By

Frank Sargent Hoffman, Ph.D.

Professor in Union College, author of "The Sphere of the State," "The
Sphere of Science," etc.

"Truth, by whomsoever uttered, is from God."

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PREFACE.

THIS book is written for the express purpose of interesting thoughtful young men and women, especially those in our colleges, in the study of religion. It is the author's firm conviction that no other study offers to the student so many and such varied attractions, or exerts such a broadening and uplifting influence upon his mind and life.

Anthropologists of to-day are unanimous in the opinion that religion came into the world with the very dawn of history, and that in all lands it originated the first signs of a civilized life. It has always in the past been a dominating factor in human development, and there is every reason to believe that it will continue to be so in all time to come.

No man or nation can dispense with religion, or keep it in the background. For every person is so made that when he has progressed far enough to distinguish himself from the world about him, he must recognize the existence of a power above himself and manifest some feeling of dependence upon that power. No human beings have yet been discovered upon this planet who do not possess a religion of some sort, and the only serious question any man has left to ask himself on the matter is this: How can I so improve the religion I already have as to make it of the highest possible worth?

It would be difficult, if not impossible, to find a sub-

ject that in recent years has undergone greater or more radical modifications as to its nature and mission than the subject of religion. President Harris of Amherst College put it none too strongly when he said in his baccalaureate sermon to the class of 1907, "I venture to say that the Protestant Reformation itself did not work a greater, though, perhaps, a more violent change, than the last quarter of a century has marked in religious thought, belief, and life."

No person in our day has any right to consider himself a fairly well-educated individual who is ignorant of these changes, or has intentionally ignored them as of slight account. For no other matter so vitally affects his own welfare and that of the community at large.

In trying to elucidate in some degree the present-day position regarding the sphere and significance of religion, the author has endeavored to give an impartial hearing to the different forms of religion that have attained any special prominence in the course of history. He assumes that the reader will have little difficulty in selecting the one that, by its own inherent reasonableness and adaptation to actual human needs, is most worthy of the acceptance of his intellect and the service of his life.

Two of the chapters, the first and the ninth, have already appeared in the *North American Review*, and two others have been printed wholly or in part in the Proceedings of the associations before which they were read and discussed. They are here reproduced with the consent of the publishers and at the suggestion of friends.

If the readers of this book secure from its perusal even a fraction of the pleasure and profit that the author

experienced while investigating the topics discussed, he will feel himself amply repaid for his efforts in trying to compress the treatment of so great a theme into so small a compass.

F. S. H.

UNION COLLEGE,
January, 1908.

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The Sphere of Religion

THE SPHERE OF RELIGION

CHAPTER I.

WHAT IS RELIGION?

(First published in the *North American Review*, Feb., 1908.)

No one at all acquainted with the tendencies of thought at present can fail to be impressed with the greatly increased interest now being taken in the study of religion. Thinkers of every shade of opinion upon other subjects are fast coming to recognize the fact that religion has always held a vitally important place in the development of every race and individual, and, whether we like it or not, is certain to remain a most potent factor in the civilization of the future.

For a number of years the most persistent efforts have been put forth by a small army of able investigators to find out the actual facts of man's religious life in all times and countries. Not only have the sacred books and rites of the nations of the earth been subjected to the most rigid scrutiny, but the folk-lore of all lands and even the crudest superstitions and most repulsive practices of savages have been carefully studied. Every possible means has been taken to discover what ideas man has had in all conditions of his existence concerning the powers that rule over this universe, and also to determine to what extent these ideas have affected his thought and life.

But nothing is more apparent in this awakened interest in the subject of religion than that the old view of what constitutes religion has undergone, in some respects at least, an actual revolution. The narrow sectarian position of a generation ago has been shown to be wholly untenable ; and religion, instead of being the possible acquisition of a few, we now see reaches its roots deep down into the very subsoil of humanity, and cannot help giving itself some sort of expression, for good or for ill, in the experiences of every individual. Hence the chief inquiry of our time on this subject is not any longer whether a man has any religion, but whether the religion that he does have is of any real value ; whether it is a help or a hindrance to his own progress and the ultimate triumph of truth and right.

But before this question can properly be taken into consideration, we must make a careful scrutiny of another, namely, what exactly is to be meant by religion ? On this point there is still great confusion, and in the present state of the study of religion no need is more imperative than to have this confusion cleared away, or at least reduced to a minimum.

We may be greatly helped to the attainment of this end by observing in the first place that religion is not to be confounded with religions. Religion is that out of which different forms of religion grow or develop. It stands related to religions about as the first man stands related to the whole human race. It is the germ or principle which lies at the foundation of all religions and out of which they all proceed.

No error can be greater than to begin our present investigation with such a definition of religion as excludes by its very terms all other religions than the

one that we ourselves most approve. This error is not an uncommon one among writers on the subject even in our own day. A distinguished Oxford professor, Sir Monier Monier-Williams, recently maintained that "a religion, in the proper sense of the word, must postulate the existence of one living and true God of infinite power, wisdom, and love, the Creator and Designer and Preserver of all things visible and invisible," besides other doctrines which he specified. Then he proceeded to exclude at once Buddhism from the list of religions as "no religion at all." Manifestly, a definition of religion should have in it what is applicable to all forms of religion from the lowest to the highest, and not merely what is true only of one.

In the second place, religion should not be identified with a belief in the existence of superhuman spirits. We are not here concerned with the question as to whether the first known variety of religion actually took on this form. It may be admitted at once, however, that most of the religions now current in the world do make a great deal of this belief. But what we maintain is that if the belief should turn out to be unfounded, religion would not be destroyed thereby.

It was formerly held that the wind is an immaterial spirit; that the sun, moon, and stars are gods and goddesses with their own separate ambitions and whims; that the tides ebb and flow and that plants grow and decay in direct obedience to spiritual powers. But everybody at all acquainted with the physical science of to-day is of course well aware of the fact that no such supernatural beings exist, and that these objects and their activities are satisfactorily accounted for on quite other grounds.

The untutored savage, when he awakes from a

dream, believes that he has been away on a journey, or that other people have visited him. But as he takes it for granted that his body does not make these excursions, he naturally concludes that his phantom or image makes them; and when he beholds his shadow on the ground or sees it reflected on still water, he naturally infers that his double self is following him about. But no psychologist of to-day would of course admit the validity of such an explanation for these or any similar mental states that might come within the range of human experience.

The realm of alleged superhuman spirits is constantly being lessened by modern research, and we have no way of telling at present where exactly this lessening process is going to end. Our point is that it is immaterial to our inquiry after the essential thing in religion as to where it does end. Many existing varieties of religion may have to go as many have gone already, but religion will remain. The doctrine of the existence or non-existence of superhuman spirits is not fundamental to its continuance.

One of the ablest advocates of this view of religion is Prof. E. B. Tylor. In his *Primitive Culture* (vol. i., pp. 424-5), after very properly insisting that the first requisite in a systematic study of the religions of primitive men is to lay down a rudimentary definition, he proceeds to criticise those generally in vogue. He finds the chief error of them all to consist in identifying religion with particular developments, rather than with the deeper motive which underlies them, and concludes by saying, "It seems best to fall back at once on this essential source, and simply to claim as a minimum definition of religion the belief in Spiritual Beings."

Now it is admitted that this belief may be a characteristic of all primitive religions ; and, if we were merely treating of the history of religion, we might find this definition of much use. But we are looking for the germ or common principle of all religions, and that is something for which this conception of religion does not adequately suffice.

Again, we should not regard religion as primarily resting upon a belief in human immortality. Even so great a philosopher as Kant maintains that "without a belief in a future life no religion can be conceived to exist" ; and John Fiske in his very helpful book, *Through Nature to God*, asserts that the "belief in the unseen world in which human beings continue to exist after death" is essential to religion. Both these thinkers forget that the early Jewish religion was without such belief, and that in many religions where it does exist it forms no important part of either belief or practice. Among the ancient Greeks immortality meant the immortality of the family or state rather than that of the individual.

In many religions whole classes are formally excluded from it and the doctrine is by no means universally held to-day. As Howerth well says in a recent article (*Internat. Jour. of Ethics*, Jan., 1903, p. 190) : "What has the conception of immortality to do with the religious philosophy of those who hold, with the late Prof. Huxley, that religion is reverence and love for the ethical ideal, and the desire to realize that ideal in life? or with that of the philosopher Herbart, who considered sympathy with the universal dependence of men as the essential natural principle of religion?"

Important as this doctrine may be to some conceptions of the ultimate nature of the universe, religion

would not perish if it should turn out to be erroneous. For what may happen in eternity cannot be the determining cause of the existence of a thing here and now. If the doctrine of conditional immortality, advocated by so many in our day, should become a general view, the universal acceptance of the doctrine would not annihilate religion. The idea of immortality cannot therefore be regarded as its final basis or ground.

Nor can we clear up this subject of religion by making it primarily dependent upon the belief in one personal God. This belief is, to be sure, the dominant form of thought on the subject of religion in all civilized lands, and that much must be admitted in its favor. But by holding to this as a satisfactory definition of religion we should exclude the vast majority of the human race from the category of religious beings. For many maintain that no primitive races have this idea, and the Buddhistic religion with its almost untold number of adherents teaches just the opposite doctrine. Of course, we are not concerning ourselves with the truthfulness or the value of this belief. Our only contention now is that those who deny this doctrine do not destroy religion.

What man in history was ever more sincerely religious to the very core of his being than the philosopher Spinoza? His whole life was devoted to the advocacy of the doctrine that the only thing in this world worth striving for was to love and know God. "Our salvation," he says, "or blessedness, or liberty, consists in a constant, or eternal love towards God." Yet he distinctly and deliberately rejected the personality of God as wholly out of harmony with a sound philosophy. Nature, or the World-Force, was the object of his reverence and love.

As a matter of fact, belief in the existence of many gods has been far more prevalent in the history of mankind than the belief in one. Suppose polytheism should ultimately prevail over all lands, or pantheism should become the universal doctrine. That would not do away with the existence of religion. It would only be changing its form of manifestation.

If the positions already taken are sound, we have gone far enough to see that religion in the truest and most profound sense of the term is not primarily dependent upon any specific set of beliefs. It does not rise and fall with these beliefs, or go out of existence if they cease to be. The greatest variety of beliefs have been held by the religious leaders of the world from Confucius and Zoroaster and Socrates down to our times and ntry, but few, if any, specific articles of belief are taught by them in common. No one of the creeds, even among Christians, is established beyond critical investigation, and many of them may yet be set aside or at least greatly modified by advancing thought.

E. Ritchie, after a very satisfactory discussion of the relation of creeds to religion in a late number of the *Philosophical Review* (January, 1901), clearly states the true position in these words: "We must conclude, then, that there is no particular belief as to what the ultimate reality of things is, or as to man's relation to that reality, which is either essential to, or incompatible with, the possession of religion." This position does not imply, however, that religion has nothing at all to do with belief; for the opposite is true, as we shall see a little later.

Nor are we to find the ultimate ground of religion is some particular feeling or set of feelings. In the system of the famous theologian, Schleiermacher, religion

was regarded as neither a knowing nor a doing, but a feeling ; and it was made to rest fundamentally on "a feeling of absolute dependence." Several able modern writers seem to hold this view, of whom Prof. Lester H. Ward may be taken as an example. In an able article in the *Internat. Jour. of Ethics* (January, 1898), he says : "It is this sense of helplessness before the majesty of the environment which if it is not religion itself, is the foundation upon which all religion is based." The error here is not in holding that religion has to do with feeling, but in maintaining that it is grounded primarily on feeling alone. For it is psychologically untrue to fact that any human feeling springs up of itself. It is always preceded by some act of knowing of at least some degree of clearness and force.

Finally, for the negative side of our inquiry, religion is not primarily a doing. It is not based alone upon the will. There are no acts the performing of which makes a man religious. Even "being good and doing good," though a good thing in itself, will not account for religion. Nor is it adequately defined as obedience to the commandments of God or as the subjection of our fallible wills to a higher will. All these positions contain an element of truth ; but they do not lead us to the essence of religion as in the light of modern knowledge it ought to be considered. The apostle James was evidently not speaking of the ultimate foundations of religion, but of a local and temporal condition, when he made pure and undefiled religion to consist of this : "to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world."

We must look for a satisfactory definition of religion, therefore, not to any specific belief, or kind of feeling,

or set of voluntary acts, but to the whole of man as a knowing, feeling, and willing being. We should not identify religion with any one of these three kinds of mental phenomena, but with them all. The psychology of to-day teaches that these phenomena in all probability never occur separately; that the unit of consciousness includes in some measure the activity of all three. Every act of perception is accompanied by a feeling, and every feeling by an act of will. Nor can the order of their occurrence be changed. Every volition is preceded by a feeling, and every feeling by some sensation or intellectual act. Pfeleiderer is right when he insists that in every religious act the whole personality participates.

Hence a correct definition of religion must be determined by the way we put these three elements together. Our problem is a problem in psychology. It is not in the study of theology or ethnology, but of this science that we shall find the data for the proper solution of it. Religion exists because man exists. It grows up out of the normal development of his powers, and in trying to define it no basal element in his nature should be left out of account.

Religion shows itself just as soon as man has developed beyond the mere satisfaction of his animal appetites and begins to exercise his higher powers. There is a partial truth at least in Prof. Ward's position that "religion is the substitute in the rational world for instinct in the sub-rational." No new-born babe or full-grown idiot has any religion, but every normally developed human being has. Whenever a man knows enough to distinguish the outside world from himself, and tries to act in accordance with this knowledge, he begins to be religious.

The first element, therefore, in religion is the recognition of the existence of a power not ourselves pervading the universe. And another is the endeavor to put ourselves in harmonious relation with this power. Of course the feeling or affective element is presupposed as coming in between the other two. For without it the endeavor would lack a motive, and could therefore have no existence whatsoever. Every sane man believes at least that he is only a fraction of the sum-total of things. He also feels some dependence upon this sum-total, and he is obliged to put himself in some sort of accord with it. This is what Caird has condensed into the statement, "a man's religion is the expression of his ultimate attitude to the universe" (*Evolution of Religion*, vol. i., p. 30).

Every growing man is continually changing in some degree his conception of the universe and the mysterious power that it manifests, but at no time in his career does he arrive at a final and completed conception of it. This is due of course to the fact that his experience is limited and can never be anything else. One of the greatest reflections upon a man's character in this age when so much is being added to our knowledge of the universe is that his views about religion never change.

Still, we must not forget that religion is a great permanent reality. It is not something that comes to-day and goes to-morrow. So long as man endures, it will endure; and as man advances it will grow in importance and power.

Here we need to note the fact that the permanence and reality of religion can never be affected in the least by the teachings of any science. For science is only one of man's imperfect ways of looking at his knowledge. It can never make or break any reality. Re-

ligion was in the world long before any of the sciences came into being, and it will stay here whatever may be their future development.

For science is a means to an end, and when the end is attained, when a perfect comprehension of the truth, such as we might suppose a god to possess, is arrived at, there will be no need of science. But so long as man remains finite, science will have a great deal to do with the various forms of religion that from time to time make their appearance in history. For it is the business of science to investigate and criticise all kinds of beliefs, and particularly all beliefs that are proposed for the acceptance of mankind concerning the nature and attributes of the supreme power that pervades the universe. Not infrequently science has had to combat with vigor such beliefs, for they have often been out of all accord with carefully ascertained truth.

At certain periods in the past the greatest enemy of religion has been theology, and in certain localities this is the case at present. For theology is almost always the last science to yield to the incoming of new truths. But whatever may be the teachings of theology or any other science, the essential thing in religion is not destroyed thereby. The germ is always present and is growing with some degree of vigor and bearing some kind of fruit.

If the view of religion taken above be correct, we are led to the observation that every man is by nature religious, and unless he twists his growth out of its normal course of development, he will always remain so. Irreligion is not the state or condition of having no religion at all. It is rebellion against what one really believes to be the best religion, and the setting up of some inferior religion in its stead. Every sane

man must have a god of some sort. He is so made that he must worship something. He must put something over and above himself and pay that something homage. Modern students of the subject of religion are now everywhere admitting the great truth contained in the statement of the ancient Psalmist that only a fool can say in his heart, "There is no God." They are willing to go much farther and accept without hesitation the recent assertion of President Eliot of Harvard, that the true test of any man's progress in civilization is his idea of God.

CHAPTER II.

STEPS IN THE EVOLUTION OF RELIGION.

THE most remarkable thing yet discovered about this planet is the fact that human beings exist upon it in large numbers, scattered almost everywhere over its surface, who pay homage to super-terrestrial powers. But this fact, remarkable as it is, is only a portion of the truth. For the most searching and unprejudiced investigation has failed to reveal any time in human history when it was otherwise. However ignorant and forlorn man may have been in the past, we have no evidence that he has ever been so low down in the scale of being that he did not look upward with some degree of reverence and awe to higher powers.

Not many years ago this fact of the universal prevalence of religion among men was seriously called in question by no less weighty writers than Sir John Lubbock and Herbert Spencer. They quoted at length from the reports of certain travellers and missionaries among the Eskimos of North Greenland, the Hottentots of South Africa, and the Indians of Lower California, in support of their position; and they stoutly contended that in these documents we have proof positive that there are communities now in existence that have no religion at all. This challenge lead to a careful and thorough study of the status of these tribes by competent anthropologists, and in every case an extensive mythology was discovered among them, together with

elaborate religious rites. A false idea of the meaning and scope of religion, a short stay in the country, or a lack of knowledge of the native language, had been the cause of the mistaken judgment. Probably no scholar of repute to-day would hesitate to accept the statement of Prof. D. G. Brinton in his work on *The Religions of Primitive Peoples* (p. 30) that "there has not been a single tribe, no matter how rude, known in history or visited by travellers, which has been shown to be destitute of religion under some form."

The reason for this historical fact is a psychological one, and has never been more clearly or forcibly expressed than by Dr. Edward Caird. "Man," he asserts (*The Evolution of Religion*, vol. i., p. 77), "by the very constitution of his mind, has three ways of thinking open to him: he can look outwards upon the world around him; he can look inwards upon the self within him, and he can look upwards to the God above him." And he very appropriately adds, "none of these possibilities can remain utterly unrealized."

For the fact is that man is a self-conscious being. And inasmuch as he is endowed with some degree of reason and will, he cannot stand still and passively gaze at the objects about him as though he were a mere brute. He must at least exert himself enough to form some kind of a conception of the powers around and above him, and put forth some degree of energy to place himself in harmonious relations with them. But it should not at all surprise us if at the outset of his career as a religious being, he shows the same confusion of ideas about the objects he worships as he does about all the other matters that come within the sphere of his experience. On the contrary, we should naturally expect to find him growing and developing

in his religious ideas as he grows and develops in all others.

As a matter of fact, this is actually the case, and it will be our present purpose to trace out in a general way some of the principal steps that he has taken as he has advanced from lower to higher conceptions on this subject in the course of history.

It is now generally agreed by careful students of anthropology that the most primitive form of all religion is best characterized by the word Spiritism. This is the naïve and unreflective belief that most objects in this world, especially those that are capable of motion, contain an unseen being, which, for the lack of a better term, we will call a demon, or spirit; that these spirits have superhuman powers and can affect for good or ill everything that concerns the ongoings of nature and the lives and happiness of man. In this stage of development human beings attribute all their pleasant experiences to a friendly demon, and all their disagreeable ones to just the opposite source. Hence they make use of every means in their power to win the favor of the good spirits, and ward off the envy and wrath of the bad.

The reason for this state of things is not hard to find. For when the primitive man first begins to give form to his religion, he is himself the only being that he knows anything about that possesses the power of spontaneous action. He cannot help attributing the same power to all the objects with which he in any way comes in contact. He acts just as every little child acts in a similar condition. Any object that constantly gives a baby pleasure it pats and caresses with affection. The one from which it gets a hard pinch or knock it wants to pound and kick with all its power. It spon-

taneously assigns to the object the same sensations and feelings and will as it is itself conscious of. Its experience is so limited and crude that it does not know enough to do otherwise. So it is with primitive man. To him every other is another, and he attributes to that other all of his own powers. In his opinion the world about and above him is made up of a vague, indefinite host of superhuman demons or spirits, and the form of his religion is determined by that fact.

Another thing that confirmed the primitive man in the belief that he was surrounded by a world of supersensuous beings was his experience in dreams; when he had developed far enough to remember his dreams with any vividness, he always thought of them as real experiences. The beings that visited him in his sleep were as genuine realities and as truly to be dealt with as any that he came in contact with when awake. In fact, he finds that he can often do things in dreams that he cannot do when awake, and that he frequently communes with beings that he has no knowledge of when awake. The Kamtchatkans and Eskimos, we are told, determine what they will do when awake to a great extent by their dreams; for they regard the knowledge obtained in this way as far superior to that gained through the senses. Lucretius, however, goes too far when he asserts that "the dreams of men peopled the heaven with gods." Many of the lower animals are vivid dreamers, but they show no signs of having any religion. Still, dreams in all ages have often been regarded with superstitious reverence, and were undoubtedly an element in determining the character of the primitive religion of mankind.

It has come down to us from the Latin poet Petronius that "fear first made the gods." As a complete

statement of the origin of religion, it is contrary to the history and nature of man. The primary religious influence is not fear, but confidence and awe. The spirit of many early religions was quite the opposite of fear. "Probably the first of all public rites of worship," says a high authority (Brinton, *The Religions of Primitive Peoples*, p. 181), "was one of joyousness, to wit, the invitation to the god to be present and to partake of the repast." So Prof. Frank Granger testifies in his work on the *Worship of the Romans*. No word of mourning was allowed at their religious celebrations, and usually they consisted in large part of theatrical performances, horse-races, dances, and games for the entertainment of their gods. Dr. Robertson Smith tells us in his *Religion of the Semites* (p. 260) that the early Semitic ceremonies were "predominantly joyous," and it was often this element in their worship that led them to indulge in the grossest excesses. Many other modern students of the subject would bear witness to the presence of joy and confidence in primitive religions.

Yet it cannot be denied but that fear early came to be one of their most important elements. For just as with the little child, the primitive man was often disappointed in his confidence. As his experience widened and the ills of life multiplied, he began to doubt the friendly character of the spirits. He soon came to the conviction that some only were favorable to him. The rest were to be feared. And as fear once aroused feeds upon everything within its grasp and grows with extraordinary rapidity, the uncertainty as to what the attitude of the spirits would be toward him naturally caused the primitive man to spend the most of his energy in devising ways to appease their wrath.

Wherever this form of religion now prevails, demons of darkness and destruction have come to receive almost exclusive worship. In fact, the wretchedness and misery of heathendom,—cannibalism, human sacrifices, and the revolting licentiousness of many primitive religious rites—are chiefly due to the frantic efforts of ignorant man to propitiate these monsters and ward off their manifold terrors.

A slight step in advance beyond spiritism was taken when the opinion began to prevail that all objects do not contain superhuman beings, but only some of them. This stage in religion is called Fetishism. The term was first applied by certain early Portuguese explorers to the objects worshipped by the savage tribes they discovered in Senegal and the region of the Congo. They found some of these peoples paying homage to such objects as a piece of wood, a feather, the fin of a fish, the claw of a bird, the hoof of a goat. Others among them regarded with reverential awe a big rock, a grove of trees, some such animal as a snail, a snake, a lizard, or a crocodile. In fact, anything became an object of worship to them when they fancied that a powerful unseen being had attached himself to it.

If a fetish brings good luck, it may be sold for a high price if the owner wishes to part with it. If it brings bad luck, it is thrown away or demolished. For all virtue has gone out of it. The spirit that was in it has departed, and it has lost its power. The favorite fetish of a Papuan of New Guinea is a little wooden doll with a bright colored rag tied around it. If a stroke of ill fortune comes to him when he has this in his belt, he will take it out and stamp on it, or tear it in pieces with his teeth, and cast it from him as of utterly no value.

When food is offered by a South African negro to a stone by the wayside, he does not expect the stone to eat it. The food is for the fetish that resides in the stone, and the fetish is always a spirit. Man's first home was probably the hollow of a tree. He lived on the fruit of the tree and sought refuge in its branches. But when some Mexican tribes took a tree for their fetish, they did not worship the material of the tree. It was only the spirit that resided in it that they revered.

As we go about over the surface of the earth, we find that different tribes have selected different objects for their fetish, according as the objects have impressed themselves upon them as possessing superhuman powers. Among the Maoris of New Zealand spiders were paid divine honors ; for it was in their gossamer threads that they fancied the souls of the departed ascended heavenwards.

Some of the Indian tribes of the Northwest regarded the raven, or the thunder-bird, as they called it, as especially sacred ; and according to Captain Cook, the Sandwich Islanders also did so. The peacock, the swan, the rooster, the eagle, and the dove, have been the favorite fetishes of other tribes. In Australia and Polynesia the lizard was greatly revered. The Chaldeans paid the fish divine honors. In Egypt the ox was especially sacred, and so it is in parts of India. In certain of the Fiji Islands the shark is worshipped, just as the alligator is in the Philippines. The Samoyeds in Siberia make fetishes of the whale and the polar bear.

But the most widely worshipped of all animals is the serpent. Mr. Ferguson, in his work on *Tree and Serpent Worship*, finds that the serpent was accorded divine honors by nearly all the nations of antiquity, and

is now worshipped in many parts of Asia, Africa, and America. Among the Lithuanians in southern Russia, says a high authority, "every family entertained a real serpent as a household god." Sir John Lubbock tells us that in Liberia "no negro would intentionally injure a serpent, and any one doing so by accident would assuredly be put to death. Some English sailors once having killed one which they found in their house, were furiously attacked by the natives who killed them all and burned the house" (*Origin of Civilization*, p. 177).

The Hindus probably excel all other peoples of the world in the number of objects to which they pay divine honors; for they worship "almost every living creature, whether quadruped, bird, or reptile." But they never worship the objects themselves, nor do any of the tribes or peoples enumerated above do so. They always treat the object with indifference, if not contempt, if they believe the superhuman spirit it contained has gone out of it.

In this stage of religious development, as in every other, it happened that certain persons came to devote their lives to finding out the ways of the spirits. Under the name of medicine-men, sorcerers, shamans, yogi, or fetish priests, they soon became the leaders and guides of the people, dictating even the very details of their daily lives. By the practice of many magical rites and the use of various charms and incantations they believed that they acquired such a knowledge of the plans and intents of the spirits that they could direct their actions almost at their option. They had all the confidence in themselves and all the authority over others of inspired prophets. Often they gained this insight by the most terrible self-inflicted tortures. They

would not hesitate to cut off a limb, pluck out an eye, drive thongs through the body, burn themselves with hot coals, to put themselves *en rapport* with the spirits. They therefore knew no limit to the suffering that they would impose upon others, if they thought the spirits could be propitiated thereby. It was not at all uncommon for them to call upon their followers to offer up not only their slaves and their captives, but the nearest and dearest of their own household and blood to gain the favor of the gods. For the dearer the victim, the more pleased they would be at the gift. Traces of human sacrifice are found in the early history of even the noblest religions. The ancient Hebrew religion is no exception to this rule.

Closely allied to fetishism, yet indicating some advance in the evolution of religious beliefs is Ancestor-worship. This easily arises when man has developed far enough to begin to meditate upon the phenomena of death. At the very outset it is likely that death did not arouse much more interest than it does now among brutes. Brinton asserts that "The evidence is mountain-high that in the earliest and rudest period of human history the corpse inspired so little terror that it was nearly always eaten by the surviving friends." But even this custom was probably of a religious origin. A traveller (D'Orbigny) in Bolivia tells us of an old Indian he met there whose only regret in giving up his old religion and adopting Christianity was that his body would now be devoured by worms, instead of being eaten by his relatives.

At all events, it early became an elaborate and solemn religious rite to provide the body with carefully prepared viands for its last long journey. Any neglect on the part of the survivors would be severely punished.

For the soul of the departed would continue to roam about without a home, unless it was properly attended to its final resting-place. Hence it became the world-wide custom among savage tribes to place in the tomb or on the funeral pyre such articles as the weapons, the clothing, and ornaments of the deceased. In many cases the wives or slaves or companion-in-arms were slain or slew themselves to accompany a chieftain to his long home. Often among the American Indians they were interred in the same mound, and many such mounds exist in different parts of the country.

When a tribe had survived so long as to have a history, and to trace its descent through the male head of the family, a decided change in its religious views usually followed. As Giddings describes it (*Principles of Sociology*, p. 290) "while the household may continue to regard natural objects and forces and miscellaneous spirits with superstitious feelings, they entertain for the soul of the departed founder of the house the strongest feeling of veneration. They think of the ancestral spirit as their protector in the land of shades. To the ancestral spirit, therefore, they pay their principal devotions." We find it generally true that the family tomb was near the house and not far from the entrance. The children were brought up under its shadow, and constantly addressed to it their prayers. Within the house on the family altar burned the sacred fire that went out only with the extinction of the family. Around this fire all the household dead were supposed frequently to assemble to hear their mighty deeds narrated and to be revered and adored.

All the ancient Semitic tribes were ancestor-worshippers, and so were the Aryans when they first

appeared on the shores of the Mediterranean. The Egyptians carried the cult to a high state of perfection, and the manes-worship which long held sway among the Romans is an example of it. It is to-day the religion of the Bantu tribes of Africa, and still prevails to some extent in Japan. But it is chiefly among the Chinese that this form of religion has reached its highest form of development. All changes in the customs of the country are resisted as a reflection upon the regulations established by their ancestors, for the infraction of which they will be severely punished. The greatest sin they can commit is to allow the graves of their ancestors to be disturbed for any cause whatsoever.

Herbert Spencer regarded ancestor-worship as the primary religion. In his *Science of Sociology* (vol. i., p. 309) he expressly says: "The rudimentary form of all religion is the propitiation of dead ancestors, who are supposed to be still existing, and to be capable of working good and evil to their descendants."

The trouble with this view is that it is superficial. It rests upon a false conception of religion, and is contrary to historical and psychological fact. But perhaps the chief objection to Spencer's view is its simplicity. For as Jastrow remarks (*The Study of Religion*, p. 185), "Religion is too complex a phenomenon to be accounted for by the growth and spread of a single custom."

As men progress in their knowledge of the things about them, they come to see the defects in the forms of religion described above, and begin to turn their attention to more exalted powers. They cease to pay exclusive homage to the spirits that reside in the objects that they themselves have handled and can make or destroy, and begin to look up in reverential awe to

the beings that manifest themselves on a vaster scale, and in a more consistent and impressive manner.

Thus arose what is usually called Nature-worship, the most prominent form of which is the worship of the celestial bodies. It is probable that the division of the week into seven days came about from the dedication of one day to each of the gods manifesting himself through the seven greatest luminaries.

Naturally, in all except the torrid zone, the sun-god received the greatest homage. As the source of light and warmth, as the earth's great fructifying power, as the one constant ever-recurring factor in man's daily experience, it has always awakened the most powerful religious emotions, in the minds of rude as well as semi-civilized people. Among the ancient Phœnicians the sun was the centre of their cultus. It was probably the leading feature of the religion of the ancient Persians. The same was also true of the Sabeans. The worship of Apollo, so popular among the Greeks, was in all probability sun-worship. The Egyptians gave the sun a high place in their system, and the ancient Peruvians paid it their chief honors. The Celts and the Teutons, as well as the East Indians, made much of it, and so do numerous tribes in Africa to-day. It is maintained by many writers that the North American Indians were always and chiefly sun-worshippers; that the sun was actually their Manitou, or Great Spirit.

In some lands the moon was fixed upon as the chief deity. Certain Australian tribes believe to-day that all things, including man, were created by the moon. Anthropologists tell us that in many American languages the moon is regarded as male, and the sun is referred to as "his companion." Some of the Brazilian tribes pray to the moon as "Our Father," and regard

it as their common ancestor. So do the eastern Eskimos.

At all periods of the world's history the stars have received special homage. Among the early natives of Greenland and Australia the Milky Way was nothing less than the pathway of souls ascending to their home in the heavens. The Auroras Borealis and Australis were actually in their opinion the dance of the gods across the firmament.

Another form of nature-worship was the adoration of the fire-god. Among all peoples fire has been held sacred. It was thought of as the central principle of life. Among the Kafirs in South Africa every religious ceremony must be performed in front of a fire. The Indians of Guatemala regard it as their greatest and oldest deity. The fire test was practised by the Aztecs of Mexico, as well as by the Moloch worshippers of Syria. In Borneo the crackling of blazing twigs is the speech of the gods. The vestal fire of old, and the perpetual fire of the modern Christian altar are both founded upon the assumption of its sacred character.

Early missionaries in America tell us that the Hurons paid the sky the greatest homage. They imagined that it contained a powerful demon or "oki," that reigned over the seasons of the year, and controlled the winds and waves. The supreme deity of the Iroquois was the "sky-comer," who had his festival about the time of the winter solstice. He was the one who brought their ancestors out of the mountain and taught them hunting, marriage, and religion. Some of the Zulus think of the sky as the "Master of Heaven," and pay it divine honors, and so do the Tartars and Finns. In ancient China, Tien, or Heaven, was the Upper Emperor, or Lord of the Universe. According to Max Müller,

Zeus was the heaven-god of the Greeks. "Like the sky," he says, "Zeus dwells on the highest mountain. Like the sky, Zeus embraces the earth; like the sky, Zeus is eternal, unchanging, the highest god" (Lectures, 2d series, p. 425).

The water-god has always had a multitude of worshippers. As the source of moisture and the dew and all refreshing showers, it easily comes to be thought of as the giver of all life. "All of us," the Aztecs said, "are children of water." Tlaloc, their god of rain and water, is the fertilizer of the earth and lord of paradise. His wife dwells among the mountains where the clouds gather and pour down their streams. Among the Dakotas, the master spirit of their sorcery and religion is said to be Unktahe, the god of the water, who dwells with his associates beneath the sea. The inland people of Sumatra, we are told, make an offering of cake and sweetmeats to the sea on beholding it for the first time. Among the Khonds of Orissa the priests often propitiate the rain-god with eggs and arrack and rice and a sheep. They believe that unless they do this, the seeds will rot in the ground, their children and cattle will die of want, the deer and the wild hog will seek other haunts.

Although Xerxes tried to chain and scourge the Hellespont, he threw a golden goblet and a sword into its waters. Hannibal on leaving Carthage took scrupulous care to cast many animals into the sea as votive offerings to Poseidon. The famous Athenian prayer recorded by Marcus Aurelius reveals the classic conception of one of the chief functions of Zeus: "Rain, rain, O dear Zeus, on the plough-lands of the Athenians and the plains." In Vergil Oceanus is often spoken of as "pater rerum." Water is used the world

over in libations and in acts of penitence and purification. Baptism by sprinkling or immersion has been a common sacred rite among all peoples.

The Algonquins call the earth Mesukkummik Okwi and worship her as the great grandmother of all. They believe that the animals from whose flesh and skin the food and clothing of man are derived are in her care. No good Indian will dig for the roots from which his medicines are made until he has first sought her blessing. Otherwise, the roots would have no health-restoring power. The Incas of Peru at harvest time present ground corn and libations of chica to Mamapacha, Mother Earth, that she may grant them a good harvest. The negroes of West Africa before entering upon any great undertaking pour out their libations calling out, "Creator, come drink ; Earth, come drink ; Bosumbra, come drink." Many of the natives of India always offer some food to Mother Earth before eating. The Khonds being an intensely agricultural race recently carried the worship of the Earth-Mother to such excess that the practice of their rites had to be suppressed by the government. For they offered to her their slave-victims torn into small pieces and spread over the fields they were to fertilize.

In the Chinese theology the earth holds a place next to heaven. The worship of Tien and Tu, Father Heaven and Mother Earth, by the bride and groom is an all-important part of a Chinese wedding ceremony. The Greeks prayed to Gaia as the all-mother, and Tacitus found the Germans practising the customs of his own country in worshipping "Terram matrem." The oldest god of Chaldean mythology was Ea, lord of the earth, without whose blessing no seeds would

germinate, the soil would have no fertilizing power, and there would be no harvests.

The thunder-god of the ancient Hindus, who smites the dragon clouds and pours the rain down upon the earth ; the Thor of old German and Scandinavian mythology, who hurls his crashing hammer through the air ; the Jupiter Tonans of the Romans ; the wind-gods who in all lands control the gale and the tempest, are but further illustrations of the prevalence of the tendency of all times and countries to pay special homage to the great forces of nature that are ever working such mighty wonders. But here again we need to notice that, as in the lower forms of religion already described, we do not find these forces worshipped as material objects. They are always thought of as spirits manifesting superhuman powers.

As the experience of man widens, he discovers not only that he can destroy the tree whose spirit he worshipped, and can entrap the animals and subdue them, but also that the sun, moon, and stars do not vary their action at their own option. They are obliged to move about in certain more or less prescribed courses. Even the clouds are driven to and fro by some superior power and are not free to follow their own desires. Hence he easily and naturally comes to see the truth that there must be powers above these forces that are far more worthy than they are of his homage. He rejects the notion that the forces of nature reveal the highest spirits, and he looks up to deities that can use these forces freely at their option.

As distinguished from nature-worship and other lower forms of religion, this doctrine is called Polytheism, although it differs from these other forms not in kind but only in degree. Undoubt-

edly, the development of this doctrine is closely related to the development of the social and governmental relations existing among the people themselves. When chiefs and kings begin to make their appearance in any community, then these greater gods begin to be recognised as over and above all lesser spirits. Oftentimes the kings and chiefs themselves are elevated to the sphere of gods, and in some cases, even while alive, receive divine honors. Rarely, however, does polytheism do away with any of the lower forms of religion. On the contrary, it usually coexists with belief in disembodied spirits, local genii of rocks and fountains and trees, household gods, and a host of other good and evil demons. The deities of this form of religion simply take their place as presiding over all inferior gods, using them as messengers or agents for the furtherance of their plans and purposes.

At first, each tribe or district is thought of as having its own particular deity. But as the tribes intermingle and learn more of one another, the tribal gods give way to national. At the outset the national gods of one country are regarded as distinct from those of another, but of equal powers. Even the ancient Hebrews considered the gods of other nations, such as those of Assyria, Phœnicia, and Egypt, as real divinities.

Many tribes and peoples have risen in some degree to the stage of polytheistic thought, but the nations that carried it to a higher degree of perfection than any others were the ancient Greeks and Romans. Costly temples were erected to the honor of their gods. Elaborate ritualistic services were instituted to do them reverence. A great multitude of priests and priestesses devoted their lives to finding out and enforcing their will and purpose. The character and extent of this

form of religion are, however, so familiar that there is little need of further explanation of it here.

This can hardly be said of Monotheism, the next step in the evolution of religion. For there has been and in some quarters still is a great divergence of opinion regarding its historic origin. For until within a few generations, it was the common belief of thinkers on the subject of religion that the knowledge of the existence of one god was a primitive revelation, made to the first representatives of the human race, and handed down by them to their posterity. Polytheism and all other forms of religion, it was maintained, are a degeneration from a once higher form. But this view has few if any advocates among recent scholars. For it is now known that the tendency to the monotheistic position exists among all people when they have advanced to a certain degree of mental culture. As Jastrow well says: "There is a difference in the degree in which this tendency is emphasized, but whether we turn to Babylonia, Egypt, India, China, or Greece, there are distinct traces towards concentrating the varied manifestations of divine powers in a single source."

This tendency is a perfectly natural one, and arises the moment man begins seriously to reflect upon the universe. He cannot fail to observe the inequalities that exist among the deities, and to realize that of necessity one must be supreme to all the others. When any two peoples united as the result of war or for any other reason, the superior place would naturally be accorded to the deity of the conquering power; and as a nation grew in influence and became conscious of its strength, it would gradually change its opinions regarding the gods of the nations about it. It would either do as the Greeks did in the case of Ammon, the god of

the Egyptians, recognize in him their own Zeus as appearing in another form, or come to treat other gods as inferior deities not worthy of being compared with their own god, as the Hebrews looked upon Chemosh, the supreme god of the Moabites, in comparison with Jahveh, or Jehovah, their own national deity.

It is a matter of history that monotheism did not originate in any one quarter alone, but was an idea attained independently by many peoples at a comparatively early stage in their development.

The chief contribution of the Hebrews to religion is not their monotheistic idea, but the emphasis they put upon the ethical character of their supreme deity. He was not mere power that goes stalking through the universe, but a being of righteousness that deals with men and nations according to their moral character. It was this view that caused the worship of Jehovah to supplant that of all the other gods among the Hebrews themselves, and to survive the crash of faiths that early befell the entire ancient world.

In this brief outline of the main steps that have been taken in the development of religion, it is not claimed that any hard and fast distinction can be made between them. Indeed, it is the opinion of competent authorities that all the different forms of religion described above coexisted among the Hindus, the Greeks, the old Norsemen, and to some extent still coexist among modern Africans, as well as the negroes and Indians of our own land. Nor is it held that any sudden or complete transition from a lower to a higher stage has actually taken place at any time in history. On the contrary, the changes have been gradual, and many evidences of the survival of the old amid the new exist

in the notions and customs of even the most highly civilized and intelligent nations of our own day.

Amulets, charms, lucky stones and coins, the veneration of sacred relics, everything that goes under the name of Mascot, are all legitimately descended from fetishism ; just as belief in ghosts and haunted houses, fear of the dark, and the like, come from a more primary form of religion. Current ideas concerning lucky and unlucky days and numbers, spilling salt, throwing rice at a wedding, charming away warts, are survivals of a similar sort. So, too, are the present notions of man as to sacred days and places, sacred utensils, holy water. And we should not hesitate to class in the list of primitive and outgrown religious ideas the worship of saints, and the common belief that a person acquires peculiar supernatural authority in religious matters by the laying on of hands, or by any other form of ordination. For they are notions on a par with the old Greek tradition that one gets a supernatural inspiration by the very act of paying a visit to the fountain of Parnassus, or taking a draft at the Pierian spring. But the most striking of all is the present popular belief that between man and the Supreme Being there exists an ascending gradation of angels and archangels on the one hand, and evil spirits on the other, reaching up to a supreme evil demon, who, under the title of Devil or Satan, is supposed to be the author of the sin and misery of mankind.

It might be objected to this outline of the development of religion that no place is left in it for the worship of idols. This omission is by no means an accident, for it is based on the conviction that idolatry is not an actual, or even a possible form of religion, if it is taken to mean that human beings have ever paid

divine honors to images made of wood or stone, or to any other material object. What the so-called idolator actually worships is the spirit that the image is supposed to represent. If he believes the spirit has gone out of the object or image, he treats it with undisguised contempt.

That there is no real difference between idolatry and fetishism is well illustrated by the way the Chinese often treat the images of their gods. As described by an eye-witness, if after long praying they do not get what they wish, they call the god all the hard names they can think of, and cry out, "How now, dog of a spirit! we give you a lodging in a magnificent temple, we gild you handsomely, feed you well, and offer incense to you; yet after all this care, you are so ungrateful as to refuse us what we ask of you." Then they pull the image down from its pedestal, tie cords around it, and drag it through the mud and offal of the streets to punish the god for the expense of the perfumery they have wasted upon him.

Every image-maker the world over does his best to embody the ideas of the person for whom the image is made. He knows well enough that unless he does this, he will receive no compensation for his labor. When Brahma is represented with dozens of hands, Diana with a hundred breasts, and other greater or less deities with impossible features and accessories, it is simply an attempt to express the superhuman qualities of these beings, not to caricature their powers.

If these steps in the evolution are approximately true to fact, we see how weak and erroneous the position is that makes religion the invention of priests and politicians for the purpose of terrorizing the people into submission to their authority, and securing the contin-

uance of their power. This opinion was strongly advocated by certain English writers of the eighteenth century, and had many followers ; among them the poet Shelley was one of the most prominent. It widely prevailed in France at the time of the Revolution, and was one of the chief causes of its horrors. Besides being based on a false and superficial idea of what religion is, it ignores the fact that religion is older than any form of priesthood. The priest is, in point of fact, a conservator, and not an innovator. He chiefly concerns himself with perpetuating what already is. His hold upon the community is primarily due to the influence religion has over men, not to his ability to manipulate that religion. He may, of course, unduly increase his influence, and turn religion into wrong channels for personal ends, but the extent to which he has done so is grossly exaggerated in many quarters. For such a claim cannot be borne out by a careful study of the historical facts.

In the light of this view of the evolution of religion, we can see how irrational it is to divide religions into true and false, instead of classifying them as primitive and developed. It was maintained by Empedocles among the ancient Greeks that all religions are false because they are the product of a diseased mind, and Feuerbach in the last century strongly advocated the same view among the Germans.

While few, if any, maintain that opinion at present, there are many who hold that all religions are false except one, and that the one they themselves have come to adopt. The Jew does this who asserts that God by a perpetual covenant, recorded in the Old Testament, has made his own race the sole repository of his will. The Islamite does this who regards the

Koran alone as the sole guide to truth and life. And the Christian who sees in the New Testament the only source of religious faith and practice belongs to the same class. No writer has given us a more vivid picture of the erroneous way of regarding the religions of the world than Milton in his *Paradise Lost*. That all religions except the Christian are pure inventions of the Devil to ensnare the unwary is his fundamental thought.

This position has been the source of untold mischief and suffering in the past, and immensely impedes the progress of mankind at present. It is contrary to actual fact, and is based upon the false assumption that man possesses the ability to acquire absolute certainty in religious matters, a thing which is denied to him in every other sphere.

The truth is that man's religion develops as he himself develops. The steps in the evolution of religion are the steps in his own mental advancement. There is never a time after he comes into conscious possession of his powers as a person when he is without religion, and there is no possibility of his outgrowing religion. He does not get his religion out of any book, but primarily out of the experiences of his own mind and heart. The experiences of others are a help to him only as he reproduces them in his own. The more sensual he is, the more sensual will be his religion, and the more rational and pure his life is, the more refined and spiritual will his religion become. In other words, the more of a man he is himself, the loftier will his conception be of the Maker and Sustainer of all truth and life.

The reason for this is that every man is so constructed that he must make his god in his own image.

Religion arises in the ability of man to form an ideal of things that transcend the real. A man without imagination would be without religion, for he would be no longer a man, but would have sunk down to the level of the brute. No man ever worshipped an abstraction. He pays homage only to some concrete thing, and his ability to form a picture of a Power higher than himself depends upon his imagination, which simply takes the highest in his own experience and attributes it to his god. This has been true of man in all stages of his history, is true now, and we cannot think of a time when it will be otherwise.

The charge that religion is anthropomorphic is admitted without hesitation. For this is true of everything beyond the merely physical, of which we have any knowledge. We cannot think of any being above ourselves, unless we assume that being to be in some respects at least in our own image. It is psychologically impossible not to do so, if we make the attempt at all. Every man must worship his own thought of God, and his progress in civilization is best measured by the worthiness of that thought. The religious nature of man, when once aroused, can never be lulled to rest. It must feed upon something. For it is the most fundamental and pervasive of all man's powers. It is perpetually yearning for expression, and can only for a time be partially smothered. It will reach its full and complete fruition in every one of us only when we come to realize in our own experience the most commonplace and yet truest saying of all the ages upon this subject, that the highest of all existences in this universe is "not far from every one of us; for in him we live and move and have our being."

CHAPTER III.

SACRED BOOKS AND HOW THEY ORIGINATE.

a. The Sacred Tablets of the Babylonians.—

In treating of the subject of the relation of bibles to religion we need, first of all, to note the fact that three things existed in this world long before there were any bibles, namely, nature, man, and God.

The "little speck of matter" in our stellar universe which we call the earth had passed through innumerable changes in form and condition ages before man appeared upon its surface, and man had established elaborate systems of religious worship on many portions of our planet centuries before a bible of any description had even been thought of. For the moment a human being begins to attain a consciousness of his own existence and the existence of a world around and above him, he forms at once some sort of religion, and there is never a time in his history as a man when he is without religion.

Hence a very little reflection will lead us to see that a bible cannot be brought into existence until man has had some experience with nature and has learned to look with some degree of clearness through nature up to superhuman powers. No bible can create this experience. All it can do is to record what has been experienced in the past and anticipate with more or less assurance what may come within the realm of

future experience. Religion, therefore, cannot be based upon any bible. On the contrary, it is religion that makes bibles, not bibles religion.

Nevertheless, the content and form of religion may come to be immensely affected by their influence, and such has been the historic fact. Every religion of any moment in the world has sooner or later found itself in possession of a bible in which it treasured up its profoundest thoughts and its noblest inspirations. It is, therefore, our present purpose to state very briefly the leading features of some of these bibles, to set forth the opinion of scholars as to how they grew to be what they now are, and at the same time to estimate in a general way their value to the cause of religion in our day. Taking them up, as far as possible, in their chronological order, we mention first of all the Sacred Tablets of the Babylonians.

There is at present no agreement among scholars as to what portion of the earth first produced a permanent record of its religious life, and many are of the opinion that the origin of civilization will never be traced to any one people or country. All, however, now admit that the Sacred Tablets recently unearthed in Babylonia are among the oldest literary records of any sort yet discovered, and that they carry us back to a date far beyond the wildest dreams of scholars a half-century ago.

As early as 1842 M. Botta, a Frenchman, began making excavations in a mound on the left bank of the Tigris, not far from Mosul. In it he discovered the ruins of a magnificent palace. From the inscriptions on the walls and from other data it was shown that the palace was erected by Sargon II., who reigned over Assyria from 721 B.C. to 705 B.C. Inspired by Botta's

remarkable successes, Sir Austin Henry Layard, an eminent English archæologist, a few years later started to open some mounds on the opposite bank of the river a few miles to the south of Mosul. The result was that he soon unearthed the remains of the ancient city of Nineveh, bringing to light many palaces and temples still filled with the sculptured treasures of literature and art.

His principal find, however, was a great collection of clay tablets, covered with cuneiform or wedge-shaped inscriptions, which turned out to be the famous royal "brick" library gathered by Asshurbanipal, who succeeded to the Assyrian throne in 668 B.C. Some 30,000 fragments of this library are now in the British Museum and, together with the notable finds made shortly after by H. Rassam and George Smith, give us on the whole a most satisfactory knowledge of the religious beliefs and rites of this ancient people.

But what is still more remarkable, recent discoveries show us that these tablets take us back to a time far more remote than that of Asshurbanipal, or even of the existence of the Assyrians as a nation. In 1854 Sir Henry Rawlinson began uncovering the sites of the ancient cities of Babylonia. The French and German governments later took up the work. Expeditions from the University of Pennsylvania led by Dr. John C. Peters and Professor Hilprecht have within the last few years explored the region of Nippur and Mugheir, the biblical Ur of the Chaldees. From the material thus acquired it is now ascertained that the tablets of Layard are copies of originals found in the far more ancient Babylonian temples, and that they go back to a time much earlier than anything found in the mounds of Assyria proper. In fact, scholars now tell us that the

religion of Assyria was borrowed from and was identical with that of Babylonia, and it is the opinion of many that these tablets acquaint us with ideas and conditions that had come to be current in that part of the world at least 4500 years B.C. Even then there existed a number of states with well-established governments and an extensive religious cult.

These tablets show us that the ancient Babylonians and Assyrians were a very religious people. Their wars were carried on in the name of the gods and so indeed were all other important undertakings. The priests were not only the intermediaries between the gods and the people, but also the judges of the courts, the scribes, and the medical advisers.

There is no good reason for holding that the Babylonians obtained their religious ideas from any outside source. "The earliest religion of Accad (the ancient name of Upper Babylonia) was," says A. H. Sayce, "a Shamanism resembling that of the Siberian or Samoyed tribes of to-day. Every object had its spirit, good or bad ; and the control of these spirits was in the hands of priests and sorcerers. The world swarmed with them, especially with the demons, and there was scarcely any action which did not risk demoniac possession." The tablets reveal a fully developed system of nature-worship. Anu represents the heavens ; Shamash, the sun ; Sin, the moon ; and Raman, the weather. The head of the Assyrian pantheon was Asshur or Assur, and the chief national god of Babylon was Marduk. "The most striking difference," says Prof. D. G. Lyon, "between the pantheons of Assyria and Babylonia is that Asshur had no place in the latter, while Marduk has place in the former, though not the first place."

There was a strong tendency among these people to group their gods in triads, and this accounts for some of their cosmological views. The most important triad consisted of Anu, the god of the heavens ; Bel or Baal, the god of the earth ; and Ea, the god of the watery abyss. The usual way of representing the gods was by symbols, or by the combination of the human form with that of some animal. The moon, for example, was often represented by the number 30, and a winged bull with a human head represented the divine guardian of temples and palaces.

The inscriptions on these tablets in the British Museum are written partly in prose and partly in poetry. The prose pieces tell us of royal campaigns, the building of temples, omens lucky and unlucky, and the like. They are supposed to belong to the historical period, and may be dated with considerable exactness. The poetical parts consist of prayers, hymns, magic formulas, incantations, and especially fragments of cosmological and other mythical poems that " appear to go back, at least so far as their material is concerned, to a very remote antiquity."

One of the tablets gives an account of creation which very closely resembles the account in Genesis and the Sacred Books of the Phœnicians. All place the beginning of things in a watery abyss. Another tablet describes how the gods made a beautiful land with rivers and trees and put men in it ; the place being in all probability the same region as the Garden of Eden described in Genesis. Accounts are also given of the Flood, the origin of the Sabbath, and fragments of stories resembling those of the fall of man, the Tower of Babel or Babylonia, and the sacrifice of Isaac. According to Professor Toy, whose translations are here

used, the first of the tablets describing creation reads as follows :

- "1. When the upper region was not yet called heaven,
2. And the lower region was not yet called earth,
3. And the abyss of Hades had not yet opened its arms,
4. Then the chaos of waters gave birth to all of them
5. And the waters were gathered into one place.
6. No men yet dwelt together ; no animals yet wandered about ;
7. None of the gods had yet been born.
8. Their names were not spoken ; their attributes were not known.
9. Then the eldest of the gods,
10. Lakhmu and Lakhamu, were born
11. And grew up.
12. Assur and Kissur were born next
13. And lived through long periods.
14. Anu (Rest of tablet missing.)"

The fifth tablet continues the account of creation and describes the origin of the Sabbath :

- "1. He constructed dwellings for the great gods.
2. He fixed up constellations, whose figures were like animals.
3. He made the year. Into four quarters he divided it.
4. Twelve months he established, with their constellations three by three.
5. And for the days of the year he appointed festivals.
6. He made dwellings for the planets : for their rising and setting.
7. And that nothing should go amiss, and that the course of none should be retarded
8. He placed with them the dwellings of Bel and Ea.
9. He opened great gates, on every side :
10. He made strong the portals, on the left and on the right.
11. In the centre he placed luminaries.
12. The moon he appointed to rule the night
13. And to wander through the night, until the dawn of day.
14. Every month without fail he made holy assembly days.

15. In the beginning of the month, at the rising of the night,
16. It shot forth its horns to illuminate the heavens.
17. On the seventh day he appointed a holy day,
18. And to cease from all business he commanded.
19. Then arose the sun in the horizon of heaven in (glory)."

The longest and in some respects the most considerable of these Babylonian productions is what is commonly known as the *Izdubar* poem discovered by George Smith in 1872. It is inscribed upon twelve tablets, some of which are well preserved. The first introduces the hero and represents him as the deliverer of his country from the Elamites, an event probably preceding 2000 B.C. The sixth recounts the love of the goddess *Ishtar* for the hero, to whom she proposes marriage, but the proposal is rejected because of the fatal character of her previous loves. Then she curses her lover and follows him continuously with her wrath. She descends into the lower world for means to circumvent him. The seventh tablet gives a lengthy account of what takes place there.

The most interesting tablet of this series is the eleventh. In it we have a story of the Flood "almost identical with that of the Book of Genesis." *Bel*, the demiurge of the Babylonian system, enraged at the evil conduct of mankind, determines to destroy the entire human race by a flood. All the other gods give their approval except *Ea*, who, hearing of the decree, sends for *Hasisadra*, the Noah of those days, and directs him to build a great ship in order to save himself and family and "the seeds of life."

Ea's words to him are :

" 'Leave thy house and build a ship.

They will destroy the seeds of life.

Do thou preserve in life and hither bring the seeds of life,

Of every sort into the ship.' "

(Here follow the dimensions of the ship, but the numbers are lost.)

Hasisadra hesitates and says that, even if he should succeed in carrying out such a colossal undertaking, he would be mocked by the people and elders for doing it. Ea, however, insists and the ship is built. Into it, says Hasisadra,

“ ‘ All that I had I brought together,
All of silver and all of gold,
And all of the seed of life into the ship I brought.
And my household, men and women,
The cattle of the field, the beasts of the field
And all my kin I caused to enter.’ ”

On the day he was to embark fear almost overwhelmed him. He says:

“ ‘ Yet into the ship I went, behind me the door I closed.
Into the hands of the steersman I gave the ship with its cargo.
Then from the heavens’ horizon rose the dark cloud.
Raman uttered his thunder,
Nabu and Sarru rushed on,
Over hill and dale strode the throne-bearers.
Adar sent ceaseless streams, floods the Anunnaki brought.

.
Raman’s billows up to heaven mount,
All light to darkness is turned.’ ”

Even the gods themselves were frightened at the havoc that was made and cowered together in lamentation and despair. But, says Hasisadra,

“ ‘ Six days and seven nights ruled wind and flood and storm.
But when the seventh day broke, subsided the storm and the flood.

.
The upper dwellings of men were ruined.
Corpses floated like trees.

A window I opened, on my face the daylight fell.
I shuddered and sat me down weeping.
Over my face flowed my tears.
I rode over regions of land, on a terrible sea.
Then rose one piece of land twelve measures high.
To the land Nizir the ship was steered.
The mountain Nizir held the ship fast and let it no more go.'"

Then follows an account of the sending forth of a dove, the final appearance of dry land, the disembarkment from the ship, and the building of an altar to the gods on the mount. Hasisadra says:

" 'At the dawn of the seventh day
I took a dove and sent it forth.
Hither and thither flew the dove.
No resting-place it found, back to me it came.
A swallow I took and sent it forth.
No resting-place it found, and back to me it came.
A raven I took and sent it forth.
Forth flew the raven and saw that the water had fallen.
Carefully waded on but came not back.
All the animals then to the four winds I sent.
A sacrifice I offered.
An altar I built on the mountain top.' "

About this altar the gods hold a council. They try to induce Bel to abate his efforts utterly to annihilate the race of men. Eä says to him :

" 'Thou art the valiant leader of the gods.
Why hast thou heedlessly wrought and brought on the flood?
Let the sinner bear his sin, the wrongdoer his wrong ;
Yield to our request, that he be not wholly destroyed.
Instead of sending a flood, send lions that men may be reduced ;
Instead of sending a flood, send hyenas that men may be reduced ;
Instead of sending a flood, send flames to waste the land ;
Instead of sending a flood, send pestilence that men may be reduced.' "

Finally "right reason" comes to Bel and he enters the ship, takes Hasisadra by the hand, and lifts him up. Then he raises up his wife and places her hand in her husband's, giving them both his blessing.

Professor Toy in commenting upon the inscription on this tablet says: "It is now generally agreed that the Hebrew story of the Flood is taken from the Babylonian, either mediately through the Canaanites (for the Babylonians had occupied Canaan before the sixteenth century B.C.), or immediately during the exile in the sixth century. The Babylonian account is more picturesque, the Hebrew more restrained and solemn."

Some of the hymns inscribed on these tablets, like the one to the seven evil spirits celebrating their mysterious power, are of a lower order of religious feeling, reminding us of the magical incantations of the savage tribes of to-day. But others indicate sublimity and depth of feeling that would compare not unfavorably with many in the Hebrew Psalter.

The following are extracts from some of these so-called psalms:

"I, thy servant, full of sin cry to thee.
The sinner's earnest prayer thou dost accept.
The man on whom thou lookest lives.
Mistress of all, queen of mankind,
Merciful one, to whom it is good to turn,
Who acceptest the sigh of the heart."

"Food have I not eaten, weeping was my nourishment.
Water have I not drunk, tears were my drink.
My heart has not been joyful nor my spirit glad.
Many are my sins, sorrowful my soul.
O my lady, make me to know my doing.
Make me a place of rest.
Cleanse my sin, lift up my face."

"I sought for help, but no one took my hand.
I wept, but no one to me came.
I cry aloud, there is none that hears me.
Sorrowful I lie on the ground, look not up.
The feet of my goddess I kiss.
To the known and unknown god I loud do sigh.
To the known and unknown goddess I loud do sigh.
O lord, look on me, hear my prayer.
O goddess, look on me, hear my prayer."

.

The sin I have committed turn thou to favor !
The evil I have done may the wind carry it away !
Tear in pieces my wrong-doings like a garment !
My god, my sins are seven times seven—forgive my sin !
My goddess, my sins are seven times seven—forgive my sin !
Known and unknown god, my sins are seven times seven—
forgive my sins !
Known and unknown goddess, my sins are seven times seven ;
forgive my sins.
Forgive my sins and I will humbly bow before thee."

Among the fragments of Asshurbanipal's library taken to the British Museum by Layard were a number of broken portions of a law code. These fragments were declared at the time by two eminent German scholars, Dr. Bruno Meissner and Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch, to be parts of a code reaching as far back at least as 2300 B.C. Their opinion had a most triumphant vindication in the winter of 1901-2, when there was unearthed in the ruins of the ancient Persian city of Susa the stele or column of Hammurabi, now universally acknowledged to be "the most important monument of early civilization yet discovered—a law code anteceding the oldest hitherto known by upward of a thousand years."

This monolith, now in the Louvre at Paris, is seven feet four inches in height, and on it are chiselled both a

bas-relief and an extended text. The bas-relief, which is twenty-six inches high and twenty-four inches broad, represents Hammurabi in the act of adoring the sun-god Shamash, from whom he receives the laws inscribed on the rest of this "table of stone." They consist of a prologue, an epilogue, and 282 edicts.

In the prologue Hammurabi thus describes his mission (Harper's translation of the code is here used): "Anu and Bel called me, Hammurabi, the exalted prince, the worshipper of the gods, to cause justice to prevail in the land, to destroy the wicked and the evil, to prevent the strong from oppressing the weak, to go forth like Shamash over the Black Head Race, to enlighten the land and further the welfare of the people."

The analysis of the code made by Professor Lyon of Harvard divides it into three main parts: the introduction, which deals with the source of justice and what should be done to insure the purity of the court (1-5); a section on property, both real and personal, along with the laws relating to its exchange (6-126); and a section on the rights and duties of persons, in which such matters are taken up as marriage and divorce, the treatment of criminals, and the price to be paid for different kinds of labor (127-282).

According to this code, if a judge had accepted a bribe in making a decision, he was obliged to pay twelve times the amount of the false judgment and was expelled from the bench. The thief and the receiver of stolen goods were held equally responsible. In case a drought or a flood destroyed a debtor's crops, interest could not be demanded of him that year. If any one failed to keep his part of the dyke in good repair, he was liable for all damage resulting therefrom. When

a man divorced his wife, he was obliged to give her an allowance and make good the dowry she received from her father.

The *lex talionis* was applied in some cases. For example: "If a man destroy the eye of another man, they shall destroy his eye." "If one break a man's bone, they shall break his bone." "If a man knock out the tooth of a man of his own rank, they shall knock out his tooth." "If a builder build a house for a man and do not make its construction firm, and the house which he has built collapse and cause the death of the owner of the house, that builder shall be put to death."

Surgeons received a good fee if their patient recovered, but if he died they had to pay a heavy money fine or suffer a severe corporeal punishment, even to the amputation of their fingers. The wages of field-laborers, shepherds, artisans, boatmen, and the like were fixed by law, and they were all held responsible for any loss.

The epilogue of the code concludes as follows: "Let any oppressed man, who has a cause, come before my image as king of righteousness! Let him read the inscription on my monument! Let him give heed to my weighty words! . . . Let him read the code and pray with a full heart before Marduk, my lord, and Zarpanit, my lady; and may the protecting deities, the gods who enter E-sagila, daily in the midst of E-sagila look with favor on his wishes in the presence of Marduk, my lord, and Zarpanit, my lady."

These exhortations make it altogether probable that the original column was set up before E-sagila, the great Marduk temple in Babylon. The fragments of this code, found in other parts of the kingdom, are probably what is now left of copies of it.

Hammurabi, the author of the code, is identified by

many Assyriologists with Amraphel of Genesis xiv., 1. He was the sixth king of the first Babylonian dynasty, and came to the throne in 2250 B.C. In his day the whole of Babylonia was first united under one sway, and extended not only over Elam and Assyria, but as far west as the Mediterranean Sea, thus including Syria and Palestine. The code which he drew up is considered to be a compilation from a number of earlier codes. The discovery of many contract tablets antedating his reign abundantly proves that he made use of laws and legal phraseology which had become traditional in his day.

Before the discovery of the code of Hammurabi, the oldest known collection of laws was a portion of the Old Testament. The ancient Egyptian code referred to by Diodorus Siculus (57 B.C.) has never been recovered, and the Hindu Laws of Manu (c. 950 B.C.) and the Twelve Tables of Rome (c. 450 B.C.) are confessedly younger. The Pentateuchal code is now regarded as a compilation made up of earlier and later elements, the oldest portion being the Book of the Covenant referred to in Exodus xxiv., 7. This Book of the Covenant, scholars tell us, is the portion of the Old Testament recorded in Ex. xx., 22-xxiii., 33.

Now when we compare this civil and criminal code with the code of Hammurabi, the likenesses in form of statement and subject-matter are too numerous to admit of the explanation that they are purely accidental. The only satisfactory position is that the earliest portion of the Mosaic code was largely taken from the much older Hammurabic code.

"When the Hebrews effected a settlement in Canaan," says Professor Kellner, "they found there a people greatly their superior in culture; learning from this people the arts of civilization they gradually passed

from the unsettled life of nomad herdsmen into that of settled agriculturalists. Their new home had long been under Babylonian influence. For centuries, certainly since the days of Abraham, which were also the days of Hammurabi, the rule of Babylon had extended to the shores of the Mediterranean Sea; and at the time of the Zel-el-Amarna tablets (c. 1450 B.C.), shortly before the Hebrew settlement in Canaan, not only, as these letters show, was there a lively intercourse with Babylon, but the Babylonian language and cuneiform writing were actually used throughout Palestine in carrying on international communication." The Hebrews appropriated freely many Babylonian legends concerning the early history of the world. Even their "Sabbath, both in name and institution, was of Babylonish origin." Nothing was more natural for them to do under the circumstances than to adapt to their own needs the Babylonian law which had long been in use in Canaan before they arrived there.

It must always be remembered that the Babylonian literature includes the Assyrian. For civilization in that part of the earth was first established in Babylonia. It is claimed by some students of recent discoveries made in Nippur that its beginning can now be traced back even to 5000 or 6000 B.C. Certain it is that religious thought and feeling had reached a high degree of development among the Babylonians many centuries before the time of Moses or David, and that the religion of the Jews was greatly affected by its influence. Furthermore, it is clear from the quotations cited above that the Sacred Tablets of the Babylonians did not create their religion, but simply recorded what, for a long time before they were written, had come to be commonly believed.

b. The Egyptian Book of the Dead.—The chief monument of the religious life of the ancient Egyptians is entitled the Book of the Dead. The great mass of the religious literature of Egypt is written in imitation of it, or is made up of extracts from its contents. In some respects it is the most complete account of the primitive religious beliefs of mankind of which we have any knowledge.

No people, ancient or modern, have ever equalled the ancient Egyptians in the care they bestowed upon their dead. It seems to have been the dominating purpose of their lives to secure the happiness of their deceased in the future world, whatever may have been their condition in this. No one can rightly understand their civilization unless it is considered from this point of view.

The Book of the Dead was called by the Egyptians themselves the "Book of Coming Forth in the Daytime," from the opening words of the first chapter, which starts out with a promise to give to the *ka* of the deceased the power of visiting the upper world.

According to the opinion of that age and people every person consisted of three parts, a mortal corruptible body called the *cha*, a living soul or vital principle to which the term *ba* was applied, and the *ka*, a sort of spiritual double or protecting genius, which was the inseparable companion of every individual, growing up as he grew and never forsaking him. At death the *ba* was supposed to leave the body in the form of a bird, which was often represented with the head and arms of a human being, and to fly up directly to the abode of the gods. The *ka*, however, dwelt in the tomb with the body. At any time it

could at will enter the body and reanimate it. A small passageway a few inches square was frequently made in the walls of the tomb for the egress and ingress of the *ka*. False doors were sometimes constructed for its exclusive use. The personal existence of the departed spirit depended absolutely upon the preservation of the body, which must always be kept in a suitable condition for its spiritual visitor. It must never become "a mass of worms," but "remain as imperishable as the flesh of the gods."

Consequently the body at death was carefully embalmed as soon as the *ba* had left it. Linen bandages were wrapped around it and it was placed in a coffin, upon the boards of which texts from the Book of the Dead were inscribed, in order that the deceased might have the use of them in passing through the perils of the lower world. Frequently these texts were written upon the linen bandages themselves, or put upon little scrolls, which were rolled up and placed under the armpits of the mummy, or hung about its neck.

Accompanied by the relatives, friends, and many hired mourners, if the family were able to afford them, the body was carried to the place of burial, which was always on the west bank of the Nile toward the setting sun. Here the priests read extracts from the Book of the Dead, burned incense, and made offerings, as they committed the body to the tomb.

Since the deceased was supposed to take with him all of the appetites and desires of the body, abundant provision had to be made for all its wants. Alabaster figures of fowls, loaves of bread, little wooden wine-jars, and wooden statuettes of cooks and bakers were placed in the tomb, all of which could be immediately changed into real objects at the option of the deceased,

provided the right magical text from the Book of the Dead was at hand for his use.

In the same way the deceased could take with him his favorite games and other means of recreation. Actual voyages could be made by him in little imitation boats with miniature oars and rowers. And, above all, he could avoid the necessity of labor in the future world if he had with him a number of statuettes of laborers to answer for him when any work was assigned to him, provided he was furnished with the appropriate formulas from the Book of the Dead for giving them reality. Texts from the book were inscribed upon the tomb, and visitors were adjured to repeat them for the benefit of the deceased that he might have the enjoyment of "thousands of bread, beer, oxen, and geese" in his place among the gods.

These facts concerning some of the uses of the Book of the Dead among the ancient Egyptians will illustrate how important the book was in their eyes. But before we can understand in any real way its teachings, or duly appreciate the illustrations of events in the lower world that it contains, we must know something of the ideas concerning the gods that had become prevalent at the time the book was written.

Egyptologists seem now to be agreed that the religion of ancient Egypt originated in a purely local fetishism, and was not in any sense a borrowed product. "Every village of prehistoric times," says a high authority, "seems to have had its own god or demon, worshipped in some object, usually a tree or an animal." Out of this chaos of deities it gradually came about that as some one village grew into a city and acquired sovereignty over neighboring villages the god of that city became the Great God, and the other gods

were brought into some subordinate relation to him as a member of his household. In this way every principal deity came to be surrounded by a circle of gods and there often resulted the formation of a local Triad of gods consisting of father, mother, and son.

In some localities in very early times the bull was chiefly worshipped; in others, such animals as the goat, the ram, the cat, the dog, the ibis, the beetle, and the crocodile. Whatever animal or object was selected, it was regarded as the principal local deity. As the ideas of the people became more refined and spiritual, some of the gods took on in part the human form. In general the trunk of the human body came to be attributed to a god, while he kept the head of the animal in which he was before incarnated.

In this way the extremely grotesque forms which are attributed to many of the Egyptian gods in the pictures contained in the Book of the Dead are to be accounted for. Thus Ptah, the god of Memphis, appears as the apis-bull; Hapi and Amon of Thebes, as rams; Anubis of Lycopolis, as a jackal-headed man; Bast of Bubastis, as a cat-headed woman; Horus of Edfu, as a hawk-headed man. Thoth of Hermopolis is usually represented with the trunk of a man and the head of an ibis. Osiris is the god of Abydos, the chief burial-place of Egypt, and the lord of the lower world. He was married to Isis his sister, by whom he had two sons, Horus, who was the bringer of light, and Set, the god of darkness.

Before Osiris every person on leaving this world was summoned for judgment. He was assisted by forty-two judges or "Assessors," one from each of the forty-two districts into which Upper and Lower Egypt were originally divided. Osiris and these assessors decided

the momentous question as to whether the newcomer was fit to enter the fields of Amenti and take up his residence in the abode of the blessed.

A very ancient papyrus of the Book of the Dead, found recently in Thebes and now deposited in the Royal Museum at Berlin, contains among other unique illustrations of the events in the lower world a very striking representation of this last judgment. The scene is taken from the 125th chapter, entitled, "The Weighing of the Heart." In the lower section of this picture the deceased is being led into a large subterranean hall by Mat, the goddess of truth and justice, mistress of the nether world. At the opposite end of what is called in the text "The Great Hall of Truth," Osiris is seated on a naos or throne ready to hear the newcomer. In the middle of the hall is a large pair of delicately balanced scales in one pan of which hawk-headed Horus has placed the heart of the deceased, and in the other jackal-headed Anubis, the god of embalmers, has put a feather, the symbol of truth and justice. On the top of the scales is seated the dog Hapi, the god of measure. To the rear of Anubis is ibis-headed Thoth, the scribe of the gods, who stands with pen in hand to register the decision. Between Horus and Osiris is a female hippopotamus with the head of a crocodile who stands ready to devour the newcomer, if he fails to pass the required ordeal.

In the upper section of the picture the deceased is on his knees addressing a prayer to the forty-two judges, who have heads representing a great variety of animals and who carry in their hands a feather, the symbol of their office. They each have to pass sentence upon some particular sin as the accused pronounces before

them the famous Negative Confession. Much of the matter in the Book of the Dead is to us meaningless jargon. But some extracts taken here and there from the petitions in the book for the deceased to use on entering the judgment hall of Osiris are as follows :

“ Do not imprison my soul. Do not let any hurt me. May I sit down among the principal gods in their dwellings? If you repel me from the places of regeneration, do not let the evil principles take hold of me. Do not let me be repelled from your gates ; be not your gates closed against me. May I have loaves in Pu, drinks in Tepu. Grant to me the funeral food and drinks, the oxen, the geese, the fabrics, the incense, the oil, and all the good and pure things upon which the gods live. May I be eternally settled in the transformations that will please me. May I be united with the gods of truth.” (Quoted from Warner).

The following are similar extracts from the Negative Confession made before the forty-two assessors :

“ I did not bid any one kill treacherously. I did not lie to any man. I did not plunder the supplies in the temple. I did not overcharge. I did not tamper with the weight of the balance. I was not a bully. I did not use too many words in speaking. I did not turn a deaf ear to the words of truth. I did not make my mouth work. I did not steal. I was pure, pure, pure. I did not do what the gods hate. I did not cause the slave to be misused by his master. I did not cause any one to be hungry. I did not cause any one to weep. I did not commit adultery. I did not kill. I prevailed as a man that keeps his head.” (Quoted from Warner.)

It is admitted that in this 125th chapter we have one of the oldest known codes of private and public morality.

John Newenham Hoare in his article on "The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians" in the *Nineteenth Century* says of it: "That which strikes one most in the 125th chapter is the profound insight that every work shall be brought into judgment, and every secret thing, whether it be good or evil. It is the voice of conscience which accuses or excuses in that solemn hour, for no accuser appears in the Hall, the man's whole life is seen by himself in its true light."

Besides the scenes of the Last Judgment and the Negative Confession, the book abounds in speeches and prayers to be addressed to the gods and other beings whom the departed will meet in his various migrations. The place into which he is finally ushered is described with considerable vagueness, but for the most part it resembled the region of the Nile. A broad river flowed through it which was divided into numerous branches. Islands covered with fruitful fields existed on every side. The justified had a share in tilling the fields, and they were always rewarded with sure and abundant harvests.

The Book of the Dead is admitted by all scholars to be a conglomerate made up of accretions during long periods of time. Some parts of it, they tell us, go back in all probability to prehistoric times. Others belong to the era of the pyramids and a few to a much later period in Egyptian history. Of the many existing copies, "probably not far short of a thousand," some contain only a few chapters, while other rolls are over a hundred feet in length and about fifteen inches in breadth. There is no connection between the chapters, either from a logical or chronological point of view, and thousands of years passed before the book received any very definite form. The oldest chapters are said to be the 130th and 64th. Of the latter, Naville, a famous student

of these various texts, asserts that it is "the most important chapter of the Book of the Dead." The chapter claims to have been written by "the finger of the god Thoth," "the manifester of truth and righteousness." It says of itself: "There is no book like it, man hath not spoken it, neither hath ear heard of it." It is a résumé of the whole Book of the Dead and occurs twice on the sarcophagus of Queen Mentuhotep of the eleventh dynasty. In another copy the name Septi of the first dynasty appears. Twenty-five hundred years before Christ, authorities tell us, the text of the chapter "was nearly as doubtful as in later ages."

The seventeenth chapter is one of the most remarkable and it has been preserved from times previous to the twelfth dynasty. It contains an account of the Egyptian cosmogony as taught at Heliopolis and dates, says Davis in his recent work on the Egyptian Book of the Dead, "some 2000 years before any probable date of Moses." A text of the book of the twenty-sixth dynasty, republished by Lepsius in his *Totenbuch*, contains 165 chapters. Some recent editions have 178 chapters. Occasionally a chapter is repeated. The 65th chapter is a duplicate of the 2d, and the 129th is a repetition of the 100th.

The Turin Papyrus of the Book of the Dead closes with these words: "He shall drink out of the stream of the celestial river, and shall be resplendent like the stars in Heaven."

The Burton copy of the book adds the following: "An adoration made to Osiris, the Dweller of the West, Great God, Lord of Abydos, Eternal King, Everlasting Lord, Great God in the plains,—I give glory to thee, O Osiris, Lord of the Gods, living in truth! Is said by thy son Horus. I have come to thee, bringing thee

truth. Where are thy attendant gods? Grant me to be with them in thy company. I overthrew thy enemies. I have prepared thy food on earth forever."

The religion of these ancient Egyptians long ago passed from off the earth, but it is the opinion of scholars that the religion of the Jews was affected in no small degree by its influence. The rite of circumcision which the Jews made so much of they acquired from the Egyptians, who in turn received it from the natives of Africa. Ancient Egyptian mummies show that the rite was practised far earlier than the time of Abraham. The figure of the cherubim who guarded the gates of Paradise and spread their wings over the ark was probably derived from that of the Sphinx who, as the symbol of wisdom and strength, watched over the entrances to temples and tombs. So the Jewish idea of a Holy of Holies in their temple was probably of Egyptian origin, as was the notion of a scapegoat to carry away the sins of the people. Although the first two of the ten commandments are opposed to some of the ideas implied in the Negative Confession, the majority of them are explicitly contained in it. But the leading doctrines of the Egyptians the Jews seem to have carefully excluded, probably to a large extent out of prejudice against the religion of their oppressors. We find no evidence in the Pentateuch that the people were taught anything concerning the transmigration of the soul, the embalming of the body, or the ornamentation of tombs. But what is more surprising we find no mention in it of a future life and a judgment to come. It is the emphasis put upon this idea that constitutes the chief contribution of the Egyptians to the cause of religion in our day.

c. **The Vedas of the Hindus.**—The word Veda

comes from the Sanskrit *vid* (Latin, *videre*) and means knowledge or science. In its broadest signification it designates the entire sacred literature of ancient India, which consists of more than one hundred volumes ; but in the narrower sense of the term as here used it refers to the three metrical compositions which lie at the basis of this literature and determine its form and character.

Expert students of Sanskrit literature, such as Max Müller, Whitney, and Lanman, tell us that these compositions are among the oldest Scriptures that have come down to us. The Hindus have always believed, and believe to-day, that no human authors produced them, but that they have existed from all eternity, and cannot possibly be modified or destroyed. The meaning of these Scriptures, it is claimed, can be discerned only by certain "Rishis" or seers to whom from age to age it is miraculously revealed.

It is universally admitted by modern scholars that the original Vedas were very much larger than the present collection and were handed down by tradition orally from generation to generation long before they were put into written form. Remnants of older Vedas not now extant are scattered through various portions of the present collection in a manner similar to the references to older writings in our own Bible.

The Vedas are chiefly made up of prayers and hymns addressed to the personified forces of nature, and are divided into three principal parts,—the Rig-Veda, or hymns to be recited, the Sama-Veda, or hymns to be sung, and the Yagur-Veda, largely a collection of sacrificial formulas and rites. To each of these is attached a body of subordinate works called Brahmanas which are for the most part explanatory discourses on the

sacred text by a brahman or priest. The older Brahmanas contain descriptions of the sacrificial ceremonies, an account of their origin, and legends illustrating their supernatural power. The later Brahmanas are more philosophical in their character. They ignore such matters as rites and ceremonies, and deal with the mysteries of creation and existence. They are often spoken of under the term Upanishads and remain the foundation of all the higher thought of Brahmanism even in our own day.

Attached to the Brahmanas, just as the Brahmanas are attached to the Vedas, are the Sutras. They consist mainly of rules to be followed in making sacrifices and conducting the affairs of every-day life. When the ceremonials had grown to such enormous proportions that no person could remember them, systematic treatises had to be prepared for the celebrants. For the ceremonials pertained not only to the details of the present life of an Aryan Hindu, but to his prenatal and postmortem existence. The word Sutra means a String and refers to the fact that these rules were usually written out separately with great care on dried palm-leaves tied together with a string. Each Sutra or string of aphorisms generally begins with the words, "Thus have I heard," corresponding to our "Thus saith the Lord."

The oldest of the Vedas and much the most important is the Rig-Veda. Its size is nearly that of the Iliad and Odyssey of Homer. It consists of a little over 1000 prayers and hymns addressed to the fire-god Agni and various other deities, and is divided into ten books. Six of the books are called "Family Books" and they form the nucleus of the collection. Each contains the hymns ascribed to a single family or clan in which they

originated and by whom they were handed down as a sacred inheritance.

The hymns of book nine are addressed to the deified drink Soma, now believed to be the juice of a plant of the milkweed family, which was supposed to confer upon its devotees supernatural powers. The tenth book comprises hymns ascribed to many different authors whom the scholars of to-day regard as the poet-sages of remote times. "The oldest hymns," says Professor Lanman, "may have originated as early as 1200 or 1500 B. C., but it is not feasible to assign a precise date." Some of the hymns are put as late as 900 or 800 B. C. It is now well ascertained that instead of having been given at any one time the collection grew up gradually during many centuries.

The first of the hymns of the Rig-Veda, as we now have it, reads as follows (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xlvii., p. 1):

- "1. I magnify Agni, the Purohita, the divine ministrant of the sacrifice, the Hotri priest, the greatest bestower of treasures.
2. Agni, worthy to be magnified by the ancient Rishis and by the present ones—may he conduct the gods hither.
3. May one obtain through Agni wealth and welfare day by day, which may bring glory and high bliss of valiant offspring.
4. Agni, whatever sacrifices and worship thou encompassst on every side, that indeed goes to the gods.
5. May Agni, the thoughtful Hotri, he who is true and most splendidly renowned, may the god come hither with the gods.
6. Whatever good thou wilt do to thy worshipper, O Agni, that work verily is thine, O Angiras.

7. Thee, O Agni, we approach day by day, O god who shinest in the darkness ; with our prayer bringing adoration to thee.
8. Who art the king of all worship, the guardian of Rita, the shining one, increasing in thy own house.
9. Thus, O Agni, be easy of access to us, as a father is to his son. Stay with us for our happiness."

The word *Brahma* means growth or expansion and is used in the Vedas to designate the supreme, impersonal, inactive, all-pervading soul of the universe, from which all things emanate and to which they all return. *Brahma* receives no worship, but can be made an object of abstract meditation. By this means only can absorption in it be attained. *Brahmā* when dominated by activity becomes *Brahmā*, the lord and father of all creatures, and together with *Vishnu*, the Preserver or Saviour, and *Siva*, the Destroyer, constitutes the Hindu Trinity. The Vedas also recognize the existence of a large number of lesser deities in connection with which a vast system of ritualism and theosophic speculation has grown up.

According to the Vedic teaching no real self can exist apart from the one self-existent supreme self. When individual spirits are allowed for a time to take on an apparent separate existence their sole end and aim should be to annihilate the apparent self by reabsorption into the one only supreme self. Intimately connected with this doctrine in the Vedas is the doctrine of metempsychosis, or the transmigration of souls. Every creature is supposed to be born again and again into any one of the various forms of existence between the one supreme self and the lowest atom of living matter before he accomplishes his annihilation as an individual by union with the *Brahma*. The reason as-

signed for these rebirths is the desire for life, or individual existence. Only when this desire is utterly eradicated will they cease.

Associated with the three Vedas already mentioned was the Atharva-Veda, called after a semi-mythical family of priests. Its contents were popular and superstitious rather than hieratic, and the work is of a later date than the other Vedas. "It exhibits the ordinary Hindu not only in the aspect of a devout and virtuous adherent of the gods, and performer of pious practices, but also as the natural, semi-civilized man: rapacious, demon-plagued, and fear-ridden, hateful, lustful, and addicted to sorcery."

Some of the later Brahmanas connected with the Vedas are called "Forest Treatises." They are probably so named because of the supposed superior mystical sanctity of their contents, and because they were to be recited in the solitude of the forest instead of in the village. Among the later Sutras were the so-called "House Books" and the "Law Sutras." The former treated of matters that concerned the every-day life of the family, while the latter dealt with the whole subject of religious and secular law.

The most famous of these Law-Books was called the Code of Manu. As we now have it, it consists of twelve books, the first treating of the origin of the universe and the last of transmigration and final happiness. Everything that pertains to the duties of a Brahman in the different stages of his life is set forth in it,—his education and duties as a pupil, his marriage and duties as a householder, his means of subsistence, his duties as an anchorite and ascetic, the duties of rulers, the mutual relations of the castes, penance and expiation.

The code is claimed by the Hindus to be the work of a divinely inspired lawgiver by the name of Manu, who is represented in the Rig-Veda as the ancestor of the human race and the first one to offer a sacrifice to the gods. In the first chapter of the code he declares himself to have created all this universe. The chapter opens as follows (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxv., pp. 1 *seq.*):

“ 1. The great sages approached Manu, who was seated with a collected mind, and, having duly worshipped him, spoke as follows :

2. ‘ Deign, divine one, to declare to us precisely and in due order the sacred laws of each of the (four chief) castes and of the intermediate ones.

3. ‘ For thou, O Lord, alone knowest the import (*i. e.* the rites), and the knowledge of the soul, taught in this whole ordinance of the Self-existent, which is unknowable and unfathomable.’

4. He, whose power is measureless, being thus asked by the high-minded sages, duly honored them, and answered, ‘ Listen !

5. ‘ This universe existed in the shape of Darkness, unperceived, destitute of distinctive marks, unattainable by reasoning, unknowable, wholly immersed, as it were, in deep sleep.

6. ‘ Then the divine Self-existent, himself indiscernible, but making all this, the great elements and all the rest, discernible, appeared with irresistible creative power, dispelling the darkness.

7. ‘ He, who can be perceived by the internal organ alone, who is subtile, indiscernible, and eternal, who contains all created beings and is inconceivable, shone forth of his own will.

8. ‘ He, desiring to produce beings of many kinds

from his own body, first with a thought created the waters and placed his seed in them.

9. 'That seed became a golden egg, in brilliancy equal to the sun ; in that egg he himself was born as Brahman, the progenitor of the whole world.' "

The word *Manu* is from the Sanskrit *man*, meaning literally "the thinking being." It is the consensus of opinion among scholars that the word does not refer to any historical personage, and that the code is simply a collection of the ordinances and customs of the country as they gradually developed in the course of a long period of time. It is also admitted that the code, as we now have it, instead of being hoary with antiquity, should not be placed farther back than the beginning of the Christian era.

There are several schools of philosophy that have arisen among the Hindus to explain and supplement the Vedas. The Vedanists hold that there is only one being in the universe, namely, Brahma, and that all else is Mayar or illusion. The Sankhyists believe in two eternal substances, individual Souls and Nature, or Brahma; while the Nyayists assume three,—Atoms, Souls, and Brahma. The system whose followers are regarded as the highest representatives of the teachings of the Vedas is a modification of the Sankhya, known as the Yoga system.

Yoga means "concentration," and a Yogi is one who has so disciplined himself by a systematic course of self-castigation that he has brought about a separation of his soul from matter and effected its absorption into the divine soul. In the attaining of this end, eight stages are necessary : (1) Self-control. This consists in doing no injury to any living thing, telling the truth, practising chastity, accepting no gifts. (2) Re-

ligious observance. Internal as well as external purity must be observed. One must frequently repeat the Vedic hymns, must be contented with his lot, and must constantly rely upon the Supreme Being. (3) Fixed bodily postures. These are of various sorts. They cultivate patient endurance and develop the will. (4) Regulation of the breath. This had to do with the prolongation of the period of exhalation and inhalation. It was often carried to a complete suspension of the breathing process. (5) Restraint of the senses. This means their diversion from the objects that excite them. (6) The steadying of the mind ; *i. e.*, the freeing of it from every sensual disturbance. This is done by fixing the thoughts exclusively upon some one part of the body, as the navel, or the tip of the nose. (7) Meditation. By this is meant such a concentration of the attention upon the one object of thought, the Supreme Being, as to exclude all other thoughts. (8) Profound contemplation. This involves such a complete concentration of the mind upon the Supreme Being as to produce an utter extinction of all thought.

“In such a state a Yogi is insensible to heat and cold, to pleasure and pain ; he is the same in prosperity and adversity ; he enjoys an ecstatic condition.” He finds himself able to know the past and future, to understand the sounds of all animals, to tell the thoughts of others, to recall his experiences in his former state of existence, to see all objects at once in this and other planets.

In particular, a Yogi, by passing through these eight stages of discipline, is supposed to acquire eight miraculous powers,—to make himself invisible ; infinitely light or heavy ; extremely small or large ; to touch anything, however distant, as the sun or moon,

with the tips of his fingers ; to have an irresistible will ; to obtain absolute dominion over all other beings ; to change the course of nature ; and to transport himself to any place whatsoever at will.

By the practice of Yoga not only does he put himself in possession of these miraculous powers, but he also obtains "redeeming knowledge." When his concentration has become so intense that it has overcome all the hindrances that arise from his natural disposition and it is no longer possible for his thoughts to wander, his intellect is freed from all consideration of self and turns itself inward. This is the beginning of true liberation. Salvation, or final liberation, can rarely come, however, until after a succession of births. For the results obtained in one birth require a subsequent birth in order to reach their maturity.

At the outset Yoga was not theistic. It was only in the course of centuries that the idea grew up that union with God, in any sense of that term, was the end to be attained by the system. Yoga originally was simply the attempt to separate the spirit from matter. There are a large number of Upanishads that treat of Yoga, but scholars are agreed that they are not among the oldest, and many think that they are even more recent than the Yoga-sutra itself.

All the Vedas agree in considering existence in time and space an evil. It is a delusion resulting from desire and necessitates perpetual suffering and a perpetual transmigration through different bodies, until desire burns itself out and ceases to be. Knowledge of this fact is the only thing that will bring deliverance. "He who ceases to contemplate other things, who retires into solitude, annihilates his desires, and subjects his passions, he understands that Spirit is the one

and the Eternal. The wise man annihilates all sensible things in spiritual things, and contemplates that one Spirit who resembles pure space." All action leads to agitation and suffering. Only knowledge, pure contemplation, can unite the soul to God and bring rest and peace.

The Vedas teach the great truth of the reality of spirit, and this will always remain the fundamental doctrine of religion. But in holding that spirit is absolutely unlimited and that eternity alone is real, they make personality, whether of God or man, impossible and leave no room for progress which must take place in time. The great ideas of Brahmanism need to be supplemented and corrected by the idea that the universe is the product of a power acting according to a rational purpose, and that communion with this power comes not by absorption and inaction, but by the active obedience of the will and by personal development. Thus only will the devotees of this religion cease from being the slaves of unscrupulous tyrants, as they have been for centuries, and rise to the dignity of men. What they most need is not more intellectual ability, but more moral power.

The Brahmanical priests have for many centuries held in their control the exclusive knowledge of the rites and ceremonies enjoined by the Vedas, and in this way have exerted an influence over the daily lives of the people unequalled in any other land. The caste system which they have instituted has for generations been by far the most significant factor in Hindu life.

The census of 1901 gave the number of Brahmanical Hindus as over 200,000,000. The mass of them, while not ignoring the worship of their gods, regard it as the highest law of their being to eat correctly, to drink correctly, and to marry correctly, that is, in accordance

with the law of their caste. They believe that in this way the teachings of the Vedas are most faithfully observed and honored.

d. The Chinese Classics.—The bible which from the sixth century before Christ has had a controlling influence over the destinies of the Chinese and still embodies the faith and practice of their ruling classes is made up of nine books, known to us as the Chinese Classics. The first five of these books Confucius professed merely to have abridged from older books, and the remaining four were composed partly by him and partly by his disciples.

It is now agreed that Confucius did not commit any of his own teachings to writing. Yet so carefully did his followers preserve his sayings and so fully did they depict his life that there is probably no person of antiquity of whom we have more accurate knowledge. He was born on the 19th of June, 551 B.C., at Shang-ping in the little kingdom of Lu. Various miracles are related as occurring in connection with his birth and early childhood. His father died when he was three years old, but he was carefully brought up by his mother, who called him by a pet name meaning "little hillock" because of an unusual elevation on the top of his forehead. His real name was Kong, but his disciples called him Kong-fu-tsu, or Kong, the Master, which the Jesuit missionaries Latinized into Confucius.

From his early years Confucius showed an extraordinary love of learning and a great veneration for the ancient laws of his country. At seventeen he obtained an office under the government which he administered with unusual energy and uprightness. At nineteen he married, but after four years he gave up his family life for the sake of his public duties. When in his twenty-

third year his mother died, and in accordance with a law then long antiquated, that children should resign all public office on the death of either parent, he gave up his official position; and in accordance with another antiquated law buried the remains of his mother with such solemnity and splendor that his contemporaries resolved henceforth to pay their dead similar ancient honors.

The authority of Confucius concerning the past soon became unquestioned. He pointed out the necessity of paying stated homage to the dead, either at the grave or in a part of the dwelling consecrated to the purpose. Hence "the hall of ancestors" and the anniversary feasts in honor of the dead in every well-regulated Chinese household of our day. Confucius spent three years in mourning and solitude, giving himself up exclusively to study and meditation. Then he began to instruct his countrymen in what he considered the principles of correct living, being himself the embodiment of all the virtues he inculcated on others. He gave instruction to all who came to him, however small the fee, provided he found in them capacity to learn and zeal for improvement.

His fame soon spread abroad and before many years he had no less than 3000 followers. They were mostly mandarins of middle age, sober and grave, occupying official positions of importance and respectability. This, in some degree at least, accounts for the fact that his teachings were so decidedly ethical. They were primarily intended to fit men for honorable and useful careers in this life. The political disorders of his time, which the emperor was too weak to quell, naturally turned his attention to the principles of good government as his chief topic of discourse.

Confucius travelled much through various parts of

China and in some of them he was employed as a public reformer. In his fifty-first year he returned to Lu and was appointed "governor of the people," but, owing to the jealousy and intrigue of neighboring states at his success, he soon resigned and betook himself to other countries. After thirteen years of fruitless effort to find some ruler willing to be guided by his counsels, he came back to Lu in extreme poverty and spent his remaining years in literary pursuits. His last days were greatly saddened by the death of his only son and two of his most faithful disciples. He died a disappointed man at the non-success of his mission, in his seventieth year, but immediately, as in the case of Buddha, his name began to be treated with marked veneration, and to-day he is worshipped by many as a god.

His family still continues to reside in the place where their ancestor lived and is the only hereditary aristocracy in China, the oldest representative of it having the title and revenues of a duke. Temples to the honor of Confucius exist in every city of the empire, and now exceed 1500 in numbers. Twice each year some 70,000 animals and 27,000 pieces of silk are burned upon his altars. Twice each year the Emperor himself makes offerings in his honor in the hall of the Imperial College at Peking. The eighteenth day of the second moon is kept sacred as the anniversary of his death.

The system of Confucius, as set forth in the nine classics, has little to do with what is ordinarily called religion, and he distinctly disclaims for himself any special revelation. "I teach you nothing," he says, "but what you might learn for yourselves—viz., the observation of the three fundamental laws of relation between sovereign and subject, father and child, hus-

band and wife ; and the five capital virtues—universal charity, impartial justice, conformity to ceremonies and established usages, rectitude of heart and mind, and pure sincerity.”

One of his disciples once asked him about serving the spirits of the dead and the master replied : “ While you are not able to serve men, how can you serve their spirits ? ” and when asked a question about death, he answered : “ While you do not know life, how can you know about death ? ”

Although Confucius lauds the present world there are a number of allusions in his works to an heavenly agency called Shang-te whose outer emblem is Tien or the visible firmament. This Shang-te is probably the ever-present Law and Order of the universe. In one passage he enjoins the people “ to contribute with all their power to the worship of Shang-te, of celebrated mountains, of great rivers, and of the ‘ shin ’ (spirits) of the four quarters.” In another he says : “ as for the genii and spirits, sacrifice to them ; I have nothing to tell regarding them whether they exist or not ; but their worship is part of an august and awful ceremonial, which a wise man will not neglect or despise.”

In the opinion of many competent students of Chinese history it was this doubting attitude of Confucius toward the world of spirits that prevented his disciples from giving themselves up to the debasing superstitions and magical rites of the Buddhist and Taoist sects that still demoralize the masses of the people.

The first of the so-called “ Five Canonical Books ” of the Chinese was originally a cosmological essay, but is now regarded as a treatise on ethics. The second is an account of the sayings and actions of two emperors who lived twenty-three centuries B.C., and of other

ancients for whom Confucius had the deepest reverence. It depicts a kind of golden age when evil, poverty, and ignorance had been blotted out of the empire by the virtue and example of its rulers, when "the upright were advanced to office and the crooked set aside." The third is a book of sacred songs or poems, three hundred and eleven in number, many of which every well-educated Chinaman knows by heart. The fourth is called the "Book of Rites" and prescribes the ceremonies to be observed in every relation of life. It has been for centuries, and is now, the chief cause of the artificial and unchangeable habits of the people. And the last of the five has the title, the "Spring and Autumn Annals." In it Confucius gives a brief history of the events in Lu from 721 to 480 B.C. It is not a work of much merit.

The first of the so-called "Four Books" which follow these five canonical books is the Chinese bible. It is known as the "Great Study," and is devoted to showing in what good government consists. It says, "The ancients who desired to illustrate illustrious virtue throughout the empire first ordered well their own states. Wishing to order well their own states, they first regulated their families. Wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated their own persons. Wishing to cultivate their persons, they first rectified their hearts." The second is entitled "The Doctrine of the Mean," and is attributed to the grandson of Confucius. It teaches what "the due medium" is in all conduct. The third book is sometimes called the "Memorabilia of Confucius," and is the chief source of our knowledge of his character and teachings. Measured by any standard, a high degree of excellence must be accorded to them all.

Two oft-quoted passages will summarize his life and views. "At fifteen," he says, "I had my mind bent on learning; at thirty I stood firm; at forty I had no doubts; at fifty I knew the decrees of heaven; at sixty my ear was an obedient organ; at seventy I could follow what my heart desired without transgressing what was right." When asked by a disciple, "Is there one word which may serve as a rule of practice for all one's life?" he replied, "Is not reciprocity such a word? What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others." Though this golden rule happens to be negative in its form, it has all the force and intent of a positive injunction.

The fourth book is written by Mencius, by far the greatest of the early Confucians, and the main effect of it is to lay down the principles of a government that is wise and just and good.

To explain the vast influence that Confucianism, as a system of ethics and a religion, has exerted for centuries, and still exerts, over the Chinese mind, we have to observe in the first place that it is wonderfully adapted to the prosaic, practical, and conservative tendencies of the people. In the second place, it assumes the inherent goodness of human nature, and holds that wisdom and righteousness can be acquired by the strict and faithful performance of appointed duties and the cultivation of proper feelings and sentiments. And in the third place, it extols education as the means of renovating mankind and inaugurating a time of universal prosperity and peace.

Through its influence schools have been diffused throughout the length and breadth of the empire, extending even to the remote villages. The doctrines of Confucius constitute the chief part of the instruction

given in them, and up to 1906 no one could enter the public service or be promoted in it without passing a thorough examination on their contents. In Japan and Korea the authority of Confucius among the educated classes, until the last few years, was almost as unquestioned as in his native land. He has been "during twenty-three centuries the daily teacher and guide of a third of the human race."

Confucianism inculcates many of the characteristics of a genuine religious life, such as reverence for the past, love of knowledge, regard for peace and order, and filial piety. But what it vitally needs is a larger outlook. It needs to supplement regard for the past with hope for the future, its stability with the idea of progress, its faith in man with faith in a Higher Power, its appreciation of time with an equal appreciation of eternity.

e. The Iliad and the Theogony of the Greeks.

—The chief Sacred Scriptures of the ancient Greeks were the Iliad and Odyssey of Homer, and the Theogony of Hesiod. For this statement we have the explicit assertion of no less an authority than Herodotus himself. He says distinctly, "I am of the opinion that Hesiod and Homer lived four hundred years before my time and not more, and these were they who framed a theogony for the Greeks, and gave names to the gods, and assigned to them honors and arts, and declared their several forms" (ii., 53).

This is also the view of the latest scholars. Professor Seymour of Yale in his commentary upon the Homeric poems declares, "To the ancient Greek mind, the Iliad and Odyssey formed a sort of Bible, to which reference was made as to an ultimate authority." He would undoubtedly have included in this statement the

Theogony of Hesiod, if occasion had called for any reference to that work.

To the student of ancient history it is no accident that the revealers of the ways of the gods among the Greeks were poets. For poets were looked upon by them as equal to prophets, and no such distinction was made between them as we are inclined to make in our day. Everything in nature and life they instinctively regarded from the poetic point of view. To the Greeks, as James Freeman Clarke has so well said in his *Ten Great Religions*: "all the phenomena of nature, all the events of life became a marvellous tissue of divine story. They walked the earth surrounded and overshadowed by heavenly attendants and supernatural powers. . . . Their gods were not their terror, but their delight. Even the great gods of Olympus were around them as invisible companions. Fate itself, the dark Moira, supreme power, mistress of gods and men, was met manfully and not timorously. So strong was the human element, the sense of personal dignity and freedom, that the Greeks lived in the midst of a supernatural world on equal terms."

The question of the origin of the Greek religion was a mooted one even among the Greeks themselves, and continued to be so until very recent times. Some held that it was almost entirely an Egyptian importation, while others regarded it as a native product. The advances that have been made within the last half-century in comparative philology have, however, settled the matter beyond reasonable doubt. Recent scholars tell us that over two thousand words in the Greek language are found in the Sanskrit, showing conclusively that the Greek people once lived in Central Asia and brought the rudiments of their religion with them

when they migrated from that country. Later additions were made to it by other colonists from Phœnicia, Egypt, and other parts of the East.

To Homer and Hesiod belongs the honor of making the first attempt to put these early traditions into permanent form and bring them down to their own day. But who Homer was is regarded by modern scholars as an unsolved mystery. "When and where Homer lived," says a high authority, "no one knows. Many stories about him were invented and told, but all are without support," the one about his blindness being the most unlikely of all. His knowledge of anatomy and of the details of battles, for example, could not have been acquired by one deprived of the power of sight.

Indeed, it is now agreed that the poems attributed to Homer by the ancients were not written by any one person ; for they do not have the unity we find in such works as Vergil's *Æneid* and Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Some parts of the *Iliad* are shown by scholars to be much more ancient than was formerly supposed, and some much more recent. Oftentimes the details of the story are not known to the writer, for he is constantly appealing to the inspiration of a Muse for his facts. That there was a conflict between the ancient Greeks and Trojans, and that Troy was destroyed about 1180 B.C. has been made quite probable by the excavations of Dr. Schliemann since 1869, showing that towns of wealth and culture like those described in the poem, existed in the region of Mycenæ and Ilium at that time.

The *Iliad* opens with the visit of an old priest of Apollo to the camp of the Greeks, offering rich ransom for his daughter whom they have captured and given as a prize to one of their chieftains. It is the tenth year of the war to compel Paris, the son of King Priam

of Ilium, to return Helen, the daughter of the goddess Leda and Father Zeus, to her husband, the King of Sparta. For from him Paris had stolen her with the help of Aphrodite, the goddess of love. As the Greeks had brought no supplies with them they lived by plunder upon the neighboring towns, slaying the men or selling them into slavery and taking the women prisoners. The daughter of this priest had been taken in this way. Her captor rudely dismisses the supplication of her father, and Apollo sends a pestilence upon the Greeks in consequence.

As soon as the cause of the pestilence becomes known the daughter is restored in order to win back the divine favor. Later the Trojans break into the Grecian camp and work great slaughter, but finally they are driven back and Hector is slain, the noblest son of Priam. The Iliad closes with an account of the ransom and burial of Hector. The action of the Iliad lasts only six weeks, but the characteristics and relationships of most of the principal gods and goddesses are vividly depicted in the book notwithstanding this fact.

The Odyssey gives a description of the wanderings and hardships of Odysseus or Ulysses after leaving Troy on his way home. Owing to the ill will of the god Poseidon he is helplessly driven about for the period of ten years from one country to another in various parts of the world. At first he comes to the land of the Lotus-eaters, then to the island of the Cyclops, one of whom devours six of his comrades. Later another race of giants destroys most of his ships. Finally he is cast upon the island of a sea-nymph who cares for him till the goddess Athene persuades Father Zeus to allow his return home. After many further trials and sufferings he reaches his native shore. By the help of his son,

whom he had left twenty years before as an infant, he slays the insolent suitors of his wife and regains his kingdom.

While there is a universal agreement among scholars that these Homeric poems are the oldest works of Greek literature that have come down to us, none of them hold that they are the oldest poems that the Greeks produced. Brief lyrics on various themes such as love and war, and short epics celebrating the deeds of the gods and the exploits of famous men must have been long in circulation among the people before any poet thought of composing such extended works as these. So far from being the pure creations of the age of Homer, they are universally regarded as consisting chiefly of a body of myths and legends that had descended from earlier times. Even the language and verse are inheritances from former generations.

Of the personality of Hesiod, the author of the *Theogony*, there seems to be no doubt. He himself tells us that he was born in the little village of "Ascra, in winter vile, in summer most villainous, and at no time glorious." Here it was that he fed his lambs beneath divine Helicon. Here, as he says, "the Olympian Muses, daughters of aegis-bearing Jove, breathed into me a voice divine that I might sing of both the future and the past, and they bade me hymn the race of ever-living blessed gods."

Hesiod is essentially a prophet. The message he delivers he declares is not from himself. He did not discover by his own researches the truths he proclaims. He thinks of himself as simply the mouthpiece of the Muses. As another has expressed it, "Personal opinion and feeling may tinge his utterance, but they do not determine its general complexion." He is in his

own opinion one whom the gods have empowered to speak for them and to make known their thoughts concerning man. The legends and myths he incorporates in his story were regarded by him and his age as relics of sacred history. Scholars in our day regard him as doing little more than to record, and in some degree to harmonize, tales more or less generally current. The many stories of gross cannibalism and outrageous immorality among the gods that he narrates must have come down to his time from utterly savage forefathers.

Hesiod's work was regarded by the ancient Greeks as their Book of Genesis. For he claims to give in it by divine inspiration a history of the successive generations of the immortal gods. In the beginning, he says, Chaos alone was. Then came broad-bosomed Earth or Gaia, and Tartarus, a dark and gloomy region beneath the earth. Afterwards Eros, or Love, appeared. Out of Chaos sprang Erebus and black Night, and from them came forth Ether and Day. Earth brought forth the starry Heaven or Uranos, then vast mountains, "lovely haunts of deities," and afterwards Pontus, or the barren Sea. Thus it was that the first generation of gods came into being.

Hesiod is here evidently describing the activity of the mighty primeval forces of nature, giving the matter its appropriate poetical dress. We to-day would call the Love of which he speaks the power of attraction bringing together otherwise discordant elements into order and harmony.

The second generation was the period of the Titans, gigantic semi-personal powers. By the intermarriage of Earth and Heaven they were produced, twelve in number, six males, and six females. But Heaven feared his own children and shut them up in Tartarus.

Earth, however, came to their aid and let them out. They overthrew their father and placed Chronos, or Time, upon the throne. The children of Time headed by Zeus rose up against him and the Titans were again imprisoned in Tartarus, watched over by the Cyclops and the hundred-handed Giants.

Hesiod gives a vivid account of this battle with the Titans. After describing how Zeus by feasting his brothers and sisters upon "nectar and delightful ambrosia" had induced them to join in it, he continues in part as follows: "They then were pitted against the Titans in deadly combat, holding huge rocks in their sturdy hands. But the Titans on the other side made strong their squadrons with alacrity, and both parties were showing work of hand and force at the same time, and the boundless sea re-echoed terribly, and earth resounded loudly, and broad heaven groaned, being shaken, and vast Olympus was convulsed from its base under the violence of the immortals. . . . Nor longer, in truth, did Jove restrain his fury, but then forthwith his heart was filled with fierceness, and he began also to exhibit all his force; then, I wot, from heaven and from Olympus together he went forth lightning continually; and the bolts close together with thunder and lightning flew duly from his sturdy hand, whirling a sacred flash, in frequent succession, while all around life-giving Earth was crashing in conflagration, and the immense forests on all sides crackled loudly with fire. All land was boiling, and Ocean's streams and the barren sea. Hot vapor was circling the earth-born Titans, and the incessant blaze reached the atmosphere of heaven, whilst flashing radiance of thunderbolt and lightning was bereaving their eyes of sight" (Banks's translation).

The result of this mighty conflict was that the Titan gods were at last conquered and banished to a dreary place "under murky darkness" "as far beneath under earth as heaven is from the earth." "From it they will never escape, for Neptune has placed above them brazen gates and a wall goes round them on both sides."

The inhabitants of Olympus constituted the third generation. By this time the gods had reached the stage of development in which they ceased to be abstract ideas or the powers of nature, and had become genuine personalities, with distinctly personal qualities, a personal history, and a personal life. Every Greek was taught to believe that a supreme council of twelve national gods, together with a vast retinue of lesser gods and goddesses, dwelt upon the glistening snow-capped heights of Mount Olympus around its highest peak and ruled the universe. Five of these Olympian gods were children of Chronos or Time, namely, Zeus, Poseidon, Here, Hestia, and Demeter. Six were children of Zeus,—Apollo and Artemis, Hephæstos and Ares, Hermes and Athene. The twelfth was Aphrodite, the goddess of Beauty, who survived from the second generation. For Beauty in the opinion of the Greeks was much older than Power.

The highest and mightiest and wisest of all the Olympians was Zeus, whom the Romans called at a later time Zeus-Pater, or Jupiter. His father had intended to swallow him as he had swallowed all his other children as soon as they were born, but his mother substituted a stone for the child. Then she secretly conveyed him to a cave on Mt. Ida in Crete, where he was brought up by a nymph. He rapidly became so mighty in strength that at the end of a year

he attacked his father and gave him an emetic that caused him to vomit forth his elder brothers and sisters. By their aid he soon deposed his father and took control of the empire of the universe.

The realm of the heavens he reserved to himself, while the rule of the sea he gave to his brother Poseidon, and that of lower world to Hades. Being the father of many men as well as gods, Zeus watched over all human actions, but especially those of the family and the state. He sat enthroned in ether on high mountains, where he gathered together the clouds and sent forth the storm and the rain. The eagle and the thunderbolt were the messengers of his power.

Second in command among the inhabitants of Olympus was Poseidon, afterwards called by the Romans Neptune. He surrounded the earth and ruled the sea, which to the Greeks had an importance that we can hardly overestimate. He agitated or quieted the waves at his will and was the cause of all earthquakes, for the Greeks thought that they originated in the sea. The waves were his horses, and hence he was regarded as the creator of all horses. With his trident he smote the rocks and caused water to gush forth from them in abundance. His temper was as variable and stormy as the surface of the sea.

Next came Apollo, the god of light and hence of the sun. To him was due the preservation and increase of vegetable, animal, and human life. Physical health, manly vigor, and masculine beauty were his gifts. He was the god of athletics, of the chase, and of war, as well as the healer of disease. His anger brought on disease and death. He was the god not merely of physical light, but also of mental. Hence all insight into the future, all prophecy sprang from him. He

was the fountain-head of poetical inspiration, music, and song, and, therefore, the leader of the Muses. The island of Delos was his birthplace, and his parents were Zeus and Leto.

Fourth in the list was Hephæstos, whom the Romans later called Vulcan. He was the author of fire and the smith of the gods. He had a huge frame and was strong and powerful as to the upper part of his body, but his legs were so weak and puny that he could hardly hobble along with a staff. He did not look like a god, but the character of his handiwork showed forth his divinity, for it far surpassed anything that any man could execute.

According to Homer he was the son of Zeus and Here, and his lameness was due to the fact that one time when his parents were having a violent quarrel he spoke up in favor of his mother. Whereupon his father seized him by the feet and flung him out of heaven head foremost, twisting the bones of his legs out of joint in the operation. According to Hesiod he was the son of Here alone, who produced him out of envy without a father, because Zeus had produced Athene without her aid. But when his mother found that he was lame she threw him out of heaven hoping that thus he might escape the gaze of the gods. He was cared for by two nymphs for nine years in their home in the depths of the sea, where he wrought many extraordinary works.

Volcanoes were his workshops. In them metals were forged into all conceivable shapes. As the soil of volcanoes was found to be the best for maturing excellent wines, he was appointed to the office of cup-bearer to the gods. Homer tells us in the *Iliad* that he was constantly ridiculed at their feasts for his awkwardness (due to his limping gait) as he went around from one couch to another handing each the cup. "And then," he says,

"inextinguishable laughter arose among the immortal gods when they saw Vulcan bustling through the mansion."

After Hephæstos comes Ares, the god of war, whom the Romans identified with their Mars. He was the son of Zeus and Here and the favorite of Aphrodite, who bore him several children. Battles and slaughter were his delight purely for their own sake. Nothing pleased him so much as to witness the wholesale destruction of men. Having no other purpose to accomplish he adhered first to one side in a battle and then to the other. In order to make the carnage as terrible as possible he took with him into battle besides other companions his sister Strife and his sons Horror and Fear, that they might add to the slaughter. Sometimes he himself was the sufferer. On one occasion when he was wounded by Diomedes, Homer says of him that in his fall "he roared like nine or ten thousand warriors together."

The next in importance is Hermes (the Latin Mercury), the swift and trusted messenger and herald of the gods. He is the go-between in all their intrigues, and being the god of all intercourse, he becomes the god of all traders, and hence, also, of thieves and liars. According to the so-called Homeric Hymn to Hermes, immediately after his birth in a cave on Mount Cyllene in Arcadia he went forth from his cradle and stole a large herd of cattle belonging to his brother, Apollo, pulling them backwards into his cave by their tails. When Apollo caught him and dragged him before their father Zeus he stoutly denied the theft, but he was speedily convicted and had to agree to give the cattle up. But before he had done so he showed Apollo a lyre that he had made out of an old tortoise shell that he had discovered, in which only the dried sinews re-

mained. Apollo was so taken with the trinket that he let Hermes keep the cattle in exchange for it.

He invented the flute and sold it to Apollo for the caduceus, or herald's staff and prophetic powers. With this wand he could quickly make the most intractible obedient to his will. He was consequently the patron of orators and the god of chance. According to some he was the god of weights and measures and all science. He was worshipped all over Greece and was generally represented with winged hat and feet.

Here, later called Juno, was, according to Hesiod, among the elder brothers and sisters that Zeus caused his father Chronos to vomit forth by giving him an emetic. After her rescue she immediately became the wife of Zeus and the queen of heaven. She was thus a very ancient and venerable goddess. Homer frequently speaks of her as "the venerable ox-eyed Here," though he represents her as obstinate and quarrelsome. Her temper was a constant source of discord between herself and her lord, although she greatly feared him. At one time Zeus not only scolded and beat her as was his wont, but actually tied her hands together and hung her up in the clouds.

Her jealousy was proverbial. She bitterly resented the innumerable amours of her husband and often vented her wrath upon the women involved in them and their offspring. She intensely disliked Hercules and sent the Sphinx to distress the Thebans because he was born in their country. The Trojans she bitterly hated because Paris did not award her the golden apple that had inscribed on it, "To the most beautiful." Being the only wedded goddess in Greek mythology she naturally presided over marriage. If the rites of her own marriage were followed, it became thereby

especially sacred. She was universally regarded as the noblest of the Olympian dames.

Next came Athene, or Pallas-Athene, known to the Romans as Minerva, who was commonly supposed to have sprung full-armed from the head of Zeus by his own power. Other versions state that Zeus swallowed her mother before she was born and that Hephæstos to relieve his pains split his head open with an axe and let her out. She was the favorite daughter of Zeus and little inferior to him in power, often wielding his ægis in his stead. Being a warlike goddess she was much worshipped in the citadels of fortified towns. Sacred images of her, called Palladia, were said at times to fall from heaven and were preserved with the utmost care, for the possession of one of them in a city made it impregnable. Homer tells us that the Palladium of Troy was the gift of Zeus to the founder of Ilium, and that when Ulysses and Diomedes stole it, victory went to the Greeks.

She was not merely the source of heroic valor, but chiefly of military wisdom and careful strategy. Hence she was regarded as the patron of all learning from the humblest arts to the most profound philosophy. Sacred to her were the serpent, the owl, and the olive which she gave to her favorite city, Athens, so named in her honor. There she presided over the courts and devoted herself assiduously to the preservation of the liberties and well-being of its citizens. Together with Apollo and Zeus she formed the supreme triad of the religion of the ancient Greeks. Power came from Zeus, wisdom from Athene, and the mission of Apollo was to reveal to mortals the results of their harmonious union. The worship of Athene was universal throughout the whole of Greece.

Ninth in the list of these Olympian deities was Artemis (later called Diana), the twin sister of Apollo and the sharer of his attributes of destruction and healing. As a destroying goddess she was thought of as a full-grown virgin armed with bow and arrows with which she often took vengeance upon her enemies. In her capacity as a preserving deity, she watched over the sick and helped those in distress. She was the patroness of chastity and her ministers were pledged to chastity by the strictest vows. Just as her brother presided over the sun and was often called Phœbus, so she was the moon-god and frequently went by the name of Phœbe. Woods and lakes were her favorite haunts and she often led in chase and war. In later years her temple at Ephesus was one of the seven wonders of the world.

Aphrodite (later Venus) comes next, the goddess of sensual love. She was not an original creation of the Greeks but was imported from Phœnicia where under the name of Astarte she had many worshippers. Hesiod asserts that she first appeared in the foam of the sea on the shores of "wave-dashed Cyprus," and that when she landed on the island, attended by nymphs and tritons, flowers sprang up under her feet and all nature rejoiced. Homer represents her as the daughter of Zeus and Dione and as much at ease in the Olympian circle.

Though the reputed wife of Hephæstos, accounts of her amours with other gods and with mortals abounded among the legends of the Greeks. She generally figured as the inspirer of unworthy passion and the enemy of chastity. Courtesans held her in high repute and sacred prostitution was practised in many of her temples. Still there were some places where she was

worshipped as the goddess of married and chaste love.

Hestia (the Roman Vesta), the eleventh of the blessed Olympians, was the first-born daughter of Chronos and, as the fire-goddess, she presided over the family hearth. The deeds of Aphrodite she utterly abhorred, and, when wooed by Apollo and Poseidon, swore by the head of Zeus always to be a virgin. A libation was poured out to her on the hearthstone at the beginning of a feast and even of an ordinary meal. Scarcely any private or public ceremony was begun without first making her an offering. She united the family together and was the centre of the family life. She was honored in the temples of all the gods and at every fireside. The sacred flame to Hestia was to be kept burning in every community and carried wherever a colony went to found a new home.

The last of the twelve Olympian immortals was Demeter, later known as Ceres, literally Mother Earth. She was a sister of Zeus and by him she became the mother of Persephone, whom Hades caught while she was gathering flowers in a meadow and carried off to the lower world. Demeter long sought for her daughter in vain until the all-seeing Helios told her of her fate. In her grief she hid herself and the earth ceased to yield her fruit. Finally Zeus sent Hermes to compel Hades to give up his wife to her mother. But owing to the fact that she had been persuaded by Hades to eat a pomegranate she was not free to leave her husband. A compromise was affected by which she should spend two thirds of the year with her mother and one third with her husband.

Demeter in her wanderings had been kindly entertained at Eleusis and, in return, had blessed the spot.

There the Eleusinian Mysteries were celebrated in her honor. This incident in the life of Demeter is told at length in the sacred Homeric Hymn to Demeter where she is often called the fruitbringer, the goddess of the spring season. She presided over the seed time and harvest and was, therefore, the goddess of settled institutions and laws.

Besides the twelve immortal inhabitants of Olympus enumerated above, the Greeks worshipped an indefinite number of scarcely lesser deities; every river and mountain, every forest and dell, every sight and sound, indeed, every thought and act had its god.

The bond of connection between gods and men was the Greek idea of heroes. They were the offspring of gods and beautiful earth-born women. Thus the sons of the gods became the founders of races and the patrons of the professions and the arts. The Greeks never had the dark and terrible notion of two rival principles, a good and a bad, contending for the mastery of the universe. They humanized everything, even their gods who freely allied themselves with mortals, and no mediator stood between them. Every man, woman, and child was at liberty to worship, or sacrifice, or pray whenever and wherever, and as often as, the heart desired. Hence the Greek religion was "dogmatically as well as practically one of the brightest and most joyous, no less than the mildest and most tolerant, of ancient creeds."

Still it must be admitted that the gods of the Greeks had few if any of the attributes of real divinity. They were made in the image of men and had all the passions and vices of men. Heraclitus well expressed the matter from the point of view of the Greeks when he said: "Men are mortal gods and the gods are immortal men."

For the gods had no higher aim than to have a good time. Their usual occupation according to Homer was to make love, to fight, and to feast. In one of their fights represented in the twenty-first book of the *Iliad*, Homer says that Athene seized a stone and struck Ares on the neck with it, and that when he fell he covered seven acres and defiled his back with dust. In the same fight Here held both of the hands of Artemis in one of hers and beat her over the head with her own bow. But the occasions were rare when they did not, as Homer says, "feast all day till sundown" and then "retire to repose, each one to his own house, which renowned Vulcan, lame in both legs, had built." Whenever they took part in the affairs of men it was usually to gratify some whim or passion. They had little or no moral purpose and did not by precept or example undertake to guide the consciences of men. No wonder that Plato was shocked at their doings as depicted by Hesiod and Homer, and would not allow the writings of these poets a place in his ideal state.

Yet in spite of all these defects it must be granted that the religion of the Greeks has furnished to the world some of the most important ideas of a genuine religious life. It represented the gods as imminent, ever-present powers, and not mere outside forces having nothing to do with the ongoings of the universe, and thus it set forth the great truth that all nature is alive with the divine. It taught that man could acquaint himself with the gods and co-operate with them as a friend and companion. Nothing, therefore, that concerned the gods was foreign to him. It emphasized the fact that man's chief mission is to develop himself and grow up into likeness to the gods. Because of these ideas it came about that "nowhere on the earth, before or since,

has the human being been educated into such a wonderful perfection, such an entire and total unfolding of itself, as in Greece." These ideas remain to-day the fundamental teachings of a truly progressive religious life.

f. The Avesta of Zoroaster.—The bible of the ancient Persians is called the Avesta, or the Zend-Avesta. Avesta probably means the text or the law, and Zend, commentary or explanation. The following facts concerning the Avesta and its history are chiefly taken from the recently published investigations of the subject by Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson, of Columbia.

The discovery and first deciphering of the Avesta are due to the efforts of a young French scholar by the name of Anquetil-Duperron. In 1723 a copy of a small portion of the Avesta was secured from the Parsis in Surat, and deposited as a curiosity in the Bodleian library at Oxford. No one, however, was able to read the text. Anquetil happened to see in Paris some tracings made from the Oxford manuscript, and immediately conceived the idea of going to India and obtaining from the priests themselves a knowledge of their sacred books. In 1754 he undertook the journey, and after seven years spent in overcoming almost insurmountable obstacles, he succeeded in winning the confidence of a few of them who taught him the language of the Avesta and initiated him into some of their rites and ceremonies.

The translation of the Avesta published by Anquetil was at one time thought to be a forgery, but later it was conclusively shown to be substantially correct. It made known to European scholars for the first time what is acknowledged to be one of the most ancient and important of all the bibles of the Eastern world.

The authorship of the Avesta is unanimously ascribed by both classical and Persian writers to Zoroaster, whose date was formerly often spoken of as 6000 B.C. This was due to a misinterpretation of the Persian chronology, which makes a difference between the existence of the spiritual essence of Zoroaster, which his disciples claimed began at that date, and the bodily existence. Scholars are now agreed that his physical birth occurred about 660 B.C., in the northern part of Persia, though his religious activity was chiefly in the eastern part. Tradition has surrounded his childhood and youth with numerous miracles, but in reality little is known of him till his thirtieth year. Then he appeared, claiming to have received direct from God a new revelation. He at once began to oppose the superstitious beliefs of his day and to urge the adoption of the new doctrines.

Between his thirtieth and fortieth year seven visions of heavenly and divine truth are said to have come to him. After the visions tradition asserts that he was led by the devil into the wilderness to be tempted, from which trial of his faith he came off entirely the victor. His first convert was his cousin, but he did not gain many followers until he converted the Persian King Vishtaspa and his court. Then his doctrines speedily extended over all Iran. After a life of great activity and usefulness, he was slain in battle during an invasion of his country in his seventy-eighth year.

According to our best scholars it is not probable that Zoroaster wrote anything. The revelations that were claimed to have been given to him by God word for word in the form of conversations were, in all likelihood, orally preserved by his disciples and handed down by them to posterity, just as were the Vedas, the

Talmud, the Koran, and the sayings of Jesus. The word Zoroaster, or Zarathustra, as applied to the authorship of the Avesta, is now regarded as indicating a school of high priests of which Zoroaster was the founder rather than the name of any individual. In the opinion of Professor Jackson some portions of the book probably date back a thousand years or more before Christ. Many parts are several centuries later, while others are as recent as the beginning of the Christian era.

The Avesta originally was many times more extensive than at present. Pliny speaks of 2,000,000 verses composed by Zoroaster, and Arabic authorities affirm that it was inscribed in letters of gold on 12,000 cow-hides and deposited in the palace library at Persepolis, which was destroyed by the Greeks under Alexander the Great. Making all allowance for Oriental exaggeration, the extent of the original Avesta must have been very great.

From the time of the Macedonian conquest to the accession of the Sassanian kings, that is, for about five hundred years, the religion of ancient Persia, the religion of Cyrus, Darius, and Xerxes, of the Magi of the New Testament who came to worship Jesus at Bethlehem, underwent a rapid decline. Many of the documents containing its doctrines were neglected and lost. But when the Sassanians came to the throne they did everything in their power to revive the ancient faith. They collected all the extant fragments of the Zoroastrian gospel into the collection we now possess, which equals in extent about one tenth of our Bible.

Like our Bible it is a collection of books. The first collection is called the Yasna and is by far the most important. The whole of it now comprises seventy-two

chapters. Probably it is so arranged in order to represent twelve times the six "seasons" the Persian god was said to be occupied in creating the world. The Yasna consists chiefly of prayers to be recited at such sacrificial rites as the consecration of the holy water ; the preparation of the sacred juice called Homa, closely resembling the Vedic Soma and serving a similar purpose ; the offering of the holy cakes which were partaken of only by the priests, as in the Catholic communion service.

In the midst of these prayers are inserted the five Gathas or psalms of Zoroaster which take the place, in this form of religion, of the Sermon on the Mount. Most scholars now maintain that they are the only portions of the sacred Persian scriptures that emanated directly from Zoroaster himself. These songs or discourses resemble in metre the Vedic hymns. They begin with the heading: "The Revealed Thought, the Revealed Word, the Revealed Deed of Zarathustra the Holy ; the archangels first sang the Gathas." Some extracts from the Gathas run as follows :

"I desire by my prayer with uplifted hands this joy,—the works of the Holy Spirit, Mazda, . . . a disposition to perform good actions, . . . and pure gifts for both worlds, the bodily and spiritual."

"I keep forever purity and good-mindedness. Teach thou me Ahura-Mazda, out of thyself ; from heaven, by thy mouth, whereby the world first arose."

"I praise Ahura-Mazda, who has created the cattle, created the water and good trees, the splendor of light, the earth and all good. We praise the Fravashis of the pure men and women,—whatever is fairest, purest, immortal."

"We honor the good spirit, the good kingdom, the good law,—all that is good."

"In the beginning, the two heavenly Ones spoke—the Good

to the Evil—thus : ‘ Our souls, doctrines, words, works, do not unite together.’ ”

By the study of these psalms we find that Zoroaster taught that there are two principles in this world in constant conflict with each other, the principle of good and light and life, and the principle of sin, darkness, and death. Ormazd, or Ahura-Mazda as he is sometimes called, is the omniscient and omnipotent embodiment of the former, and Ahriman of the latter. They are primeval and co-eval, but not co-eternal powers. Nature is now rent asunder by the conflict of these two principles, but man as a free agent will eventually overthrow and annihilate all evil. The time will come when the good kingdom will be established. Ormazd and his good angels will triumph ; Ahriman with his legion of devils will be destroyed.

Zoroaster exhorts every man to abjure polytheism and to have no other god than Ormazd, to eschew all forms of evil and cleave to the good, to think lightly of the allurements of the present world, and fix his thoughts upon the joys of the faithful in the life that is to come. We have here a very close approach to the Jehovah and Satan of the Old Testament and the kingdom of righteousness of the New.

A large portion of the other parts of the Yasna was probably composed by early disciples of Zoroaster and consists chiefly of prayers in prose addressed to Ahura-Mazda, the angels, the fire, the earth, the water, and other spiritual beings presiding over the different parts of the good creation. There is also a chapter containing a formula used in initiating converts into the new religion.

The second part of the Avesta is a collection of minor

litanies, invocations, etc., addressed to a variety of divinities and heads of the faith. The third part is made up of hymns of praise of certain individual angels or mythical heroes and is probably the work of many Median bards. Then follows a section of what may be called Minor Texts forming a sort of manual for morning devotion. The fifth part corresponds to our Pentateuch and is the code of religious, civil, and criminal laws of the ancient Iranians. It is evidently the work of many hands and many centuries. The pursuit of agriculture is especially enjoined and the care of useful animals. Much is made of the duty of keeping the water pure and of sanitation in general. For bodily purity is considered as of equal value with moral purity. The sixth and last part is a general appendix.

The power of Zoroastrianism as a national religion was hopelessly overthrown by the Mohammedan invasion of 641 A.D. Those who did not adopt the creed of their conquerors either fled to the mountains, where they remain to-day a feeble remnant of about seven or eight thousand, or migrated to India, where they now have a flourishing colony in the region of Bombay. There they are called Parsis and number about ninety thousand. They strenuously protest against being called fire-worshippers and are noted for their uprightness, morality, and benevolence. In business they have shown remarkable ability and a number of them are among the wealthiest merchants of Bombay.

The religion of the Avesta has much in common with that of the Vedas, and both are probably derived from a common Aryan source. Many of the powers, such as Indra, Sura, Mithra, and the like, have the same name in both systems. Both regard fire as divine and pay reverence to the same intoxicating drink,

called Soma in Sanskrit, and Homa in the Avesta. But in the course of their development they came to be almost mutually exclusive. The gods of the Vedas appear in the Avesta as evil spirits. The Hindu utterly rejects the dualism of the Persian, and the disciple of Zoroaster is shocked at the slight regard for morality manifested in the system of the Hindu.

Both Judaism and Christianity have been immensely affected by Zoroastrian thought. Their doctrine of angels and devils, and the idea that good and evil are equal and permanent adversaries in this world so often maintained by their adherents, are probably derived from this source. "Such poems as Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and Goethe's *Faust*," says James Freeman Clarke (*Ten Great Religions*, vol. i., p. 204) "could perhaps never have appeared in Christendom, had it not been for the influence of the system of Zoroaster on Jewish, and, through Jewish, on Christian thought." But apart from this, the Persian religion has undoubtedly contributed more than any other so-called heathen religion to acquaint the world with the great thought that the kingdom of God is a kingdom of righteousness, and that it is the duty of every man to work for its establishment here and now.

g. Buddha's Tripitaka.—About five hundred years before the Christian era a powerful religious sect arose in India known as the Buddhists, and their bible came to be called the Tripitaka, which literally means the three baskets. It is made up of three collections. The first consists of aphorisms ; the second of rites and ceremonies ; and the third of philosophical speculations. Although Buddha, the founder of the sect, preached for more than forty years, he wrote nothing himself. His chief followers, however, immediately after his death

reduced his teachings to writing, and the first part of the Tripitaka consists, in the main, of his discourses handed down by word of mouth.

The Sanskrit word Buddha, or Booddha, means enlightened. It is applied to any man who, by numerous good works, continued through countless forms of existence, has become released from the bonds of existence and who, before he enters into Nirvana, proclaims to others the only true way for bringing about the redemption of man.

There have been innumerable Buddhas, but the Buddha of history, it is now admitted, was the son of a wealthy Indian chieftain, who had his capital at Kapilavastu near the foot of the Himalayas. His birth occurred about 550 B.C., and one of his early names was Gautama. By this he was generally known until he became the Enlightened One and set out on his new mission. Then he was called Gautama Buddha, just as Jesus came to be called Jesus Christ. Brought up in the seclusion and luxury of an Oriental court, he saw no signs of human misery till his twenty-ninth year. Then, as he went among the people, he was so impressed by the universal wretchedness that existed in the world, regardless of sex, caste, or condition, that he resolved to devote his life to finding some way of relief from it. He at once abandoned his luxurious home, his wife, and infant son, and, assuming the garb of a mendicant, betook himself to the life of a Brahmanical recluse. But, in spite of all his efforts to discover a way of salvation for himself and others in this manner, no light came to him.

Finally he plunged into the forest and for six years gave himself up to extreme austerities and self-mortification. Still he did not find the deliverance and peace

that he sought. At last in sheer despair he flung himself down under a bo-tree and there, after forty days and nights of fixed contemplation, enlightenment came to him. He had the beatific vision and experienced the inward rest of Nirvana.

The bible of the Buddhists is founded on what Buddha called the Four Sublime Verities. The first asserts that suffering exists wherever sentient life is found. The second teaches that the cause of suffering is desire, or a craving for life and pleasure. The third affirms that the only way to be delivered from suffering is by the extinction or "blowing out" of desire. The fourth maintains that the only way to cause suffering to cease and thus reach Nirvana is to follow the Path of Buddha, or the Noble Eightfold Path. This path consists of right views (as to the nature and cause of suffering); right judgments; right words; right actions; right practice (in getting a livelihood); right obedience (to the law); right memory (of the law); and right meditation.

The third part of the Tripitaka attempts to give an explanation of the system. The immediate cause of suffering, it maintains, is birth. For if we were not born, we should not be exposed to death or any of the ills of life. All the actions and affections of a being at any one stage of his migrations leave their impressions and stains upon him, and determine the peculiar form of existence he must next assume. When a man dies he is immediately born into a new shape according to his merit or demerit in following the Eightfold Path, and his shape varies from the lowest or most disgusting animal imaginable up to a divinity. In case of extreme demerit he may descend into any one of the one hundred and thirty-six Buddhistic hells in the centre of the

earth, where the minimum term of suffering is ten millions of years. When Buddha attained enlightenment under the bo-tree he was able, it is claimed, to recall all of his previous forms of existence on the earth, in the air, in the water, in hell, and in heaven; and a great part of the Buddhistic legendary literature is devoted to narrating his good deeds in all these states.

Man, according to the Tripitaka, is a combination of five bundles, namely, material qualities, sensations, abstract ideas, tendencies of mind, and mental powers. Death is the breaking up of this combination. But there is a force called Karma or destiny which is left behind, under the influence of which these bundles recombine and form a new individual.

In his discourses Buddha considers mankind as divided into two classes : those who earnestly devote themselves to the religious life, and those who cling more or less tenaciously to the world. At first he formed all of his disciples into a Brotherhood and gave them ten prohibitions or commandments for their observance. But later as his followers increased in numbers he exempted the laymen from a portion of these regulations. The first five of the commandments which are of universal obligation are the following : Thou shalt not kill (even the humblest insect); thou shalt not steal ; thou shalt not commit adultery ; thou shalt not lie (or indulge in any form of harsh language); thou shalt not use strong drink.

The remaining five, which are for the special guidance of the Brotherhood, require them to abstain from taking food out of season, that is, after midday, and from looking at dances or plays ; from listening to songs or music ; from using any kind of perfumery

and from wearing ornaments ; from having a large mat or quilt upon which to sleep ; and from receiving gold or silver.

For those who devoted themselves exclusively to the religious life twelve other observances of a much severer kind are enjoined. Among others, that they are to dress only in rags sewed together with their own hands and a yellow cloak made in the same way to throw over their shoulders ; to eat only food given in charity and but once a day ; to live in the jungle and to have no roof but the foliage of the trees ; never to lie down when they sleep and never to change the position of their mat when once spread ; and, lastly, to go monthly to a cemetery to meditate on the vanity of life.

In addition to these prohibitions and observances the cultivation of certain positive virtues as works of supererogation is enjoined by the Tripitaka. Respect for parents, charity for others, and solicitude for the welfare of every living thing are carried by the teachings of the Buddhists to the greatest extreme. Their sympathy for sorrowing humanity knows no bounds. It is probably this feature of the Buddhistic religion rather than any other that has caused it to spread so extensively over the Oriental world. While it now has little influence in India proper, it holds almost exclusive sway in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Nepaul, and Thibet (where it is called Lamaism), rivals the adherents of Confucius in China, largely dominates in Korea and Japan, and extends as far north as Siberia and Lapland. Over a third of the human race, it is alleged by many, is under its sway. But in this estimate all the Chinese and Japanese are classed as Buddhists.

Buddhism, as James Freeman Clarke points out, is

Romanistic in its form, but Protestant in its spirit. The first Catholic missionaries were amazed at the likeness between the Buddhistic rites and ceremonies and their own. For the central object in a Buddhist temple is an image of the Buddha and a shrine containing his relics. Here flowers, fruit, and incense are daily offered in great profusion, and frequent processions are made with the singing of hymns. But fundamentally Buddhism is a protest against the doctrine that salvation is to be secured by following the prescriptions of a priestly caste. It is thus made purely a matter of the individual.

In ancient India the whole life of a Brahman was divided into four stages : the school, the household, the forest, and the solitude. Up to the age of twenty-seven he was a student under the constant direction and control of a Guru. After that age had been reached, he was required to marry, to found a household, and to perform faithfully all the rites and ceremonies prescribed in the Vedas. When he had lived long enough to see his children's children, he was expected to relinquish his social and religious duties. He left his home and retired to the solitude of the forest. There he devoted himself without interruption to meditation upon the Upanishads, and sought in every way rest and peace by absorption in the divine.

Buddha by his experiences in this direction became convinced that the preparatory stages of student and married life were of no avail, and he started out by urging every man to enter at once upon the search for the higher life. As Max Müller in describing the rise of Buddhism has well said : " The first and critical step consisted in Buddha's opening the doors of a forest life to all who wished to enter, whatever their age, what-

ever their caste," and he rightly emphasizes the fact that, "this leaving of the world before a man had performed the duties of a student and of a father of a family was the great offence of Buddhism in the eyes of the Brahmins; for it was that which deprived the Brahmins of their exclusive social position as teachers, as priests, as guides and counsellors. In this sense Buddha may be said to have been a heretic and to have rejected the system of caste, the authority of the Veda, and the whole educational and sacrificial system as based on the Veda" (*The Nineteenth Century*, vol. 33, p. 778).

Still Buddhism was in no sense a new religion independent of Brahmanism. For it was chiefly derived from it and would be quite inconceivable without it. Both Buddhism and Brahmanism seek to escape from the vicissitudes of time by gaining the absolute rest of eternity. But the latter attempts to do this by passive reception, the former by earnest individual effort. Brahmanism knows only absolute eternal spirit and calls this world an illusion. Buddhism knows this world only and calls the next, being so unlike this, a nullity.

Much discussion has arisen among scholars as to what the Buddhistic doctrine of Nirvana, of heaven, really signifies. Such writers as Max Müller, Schmidt, and others make it equivalent to annihilation, but many hold that it is nothing, only in the sense that it is a state or condition so opposite to all that we know in this life, and so exalted above our present powers to conceive, that it is the same as nothing to us now. Would human nature ever actually accept the former view and earnestly strive to bring about its perfect realization? Is it likely that millions of men and women would spend their lives urging others to right

conduct in order to attain happiness or Nirvana hereafter, if the absolute annihilation of the self were to be the inevitable result?

Buddhism emphasizes two great truths, namely, that religion is a rational matter, and that it is designed for all mankind. It appeals to human reason and has made its progress by preaching and not by force. It respects all men and has unbounded charity for all. It seeks to make known its gospel to every creature. Buddha says in so many words, "My law is a law of grace for all."

In a certain sense, however, Buddhism is a religion without a God. For it makes him as well as the good and heaven equivalent to nothing, at least in this present life. It leaves no room for the principle of love to come in either for God or for man. It contributes to religion the great doctrine of rewards and punishments, the reign of law, the equality of man, pity for human sorrow, self-denial, charity, and self-control. But it must radically change its conception of the relation of man to God and fully recognize that they are inseparable realities, capable of living here and now in constant and joyful accord, before it will be worthy of a high place among the forces that make for righteousness of life in our day.

h. The Bible of the Jews.—The bible of the ancient Jews at the beginning of the Christian era existed in two forms, the Palestinian collection and the Septuagint. The former was written in Hebrew and the latter in Greek. The Hebrew bible was divided into three parts, viz., The Law, The Prophets, and The Psalms. The Law comprised the first five books, which were known as "The Law of Moses." This part the Jews considered to be the oldest of their Scrip-

tures, and much more sacred and authoritative than any other portion. They said that God spake face to face with Moses, but less distinctly and positively to other holy men.

The Prophets began with Joshua and ended with Malachi. This division included such books as Judges and Kings as well as Isaiah and Jeremiah, probably because it was supposed that the former were written by prophets as truly as the latter. The third division was often called The Writings. The Psalms was the initial book of the collection. It also included such books as Job, Ruth, and Lamentations, and ended with Chronicles. The writings in this group were much less esteemed by the Jews than those in the groups preceding, and some of them were supposed to have but a small measure of inspiration. The right of a few of them to be in the collection at all was much disputed among the Rabbis.

The Septuagint had a different grouping of the books, and did not attempt to follow the chronological order. It arranged the books according to the subjects treated, putting the historical books first, the poetical next, and the prophetical last. The Septuagint also added several books not found in the Hebrew bible. The English bible follows the order of the Septuagint and so does the Latin Vulgate. It is the Septuagint that is followed here.

The first book, called Genesis, opens with a passage of almost unparalleled sublimity: "In the beginning God (Elohim) created the heaven and the earth, and the earth was without form and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters, and God said, Let there be light, and there was light."

Soon there is a rapid descent from the dignity of this remarkable introduction and the stories that follow for some chapters are in many respects on a par with the mythologies of the other nations of antiquity. Elohim is represented as bringing the different objects on the earth into being by his mere fiat, accomplishing the task in six days and resting on the seventh.

To the man whom he had made out of "the dust of the ground," he gave dominion over all the earth and put him in a beautiful garden, having furnished him with a companion and helpmeet constructed out of a rib taken from his own body while he slept. A talking serpent soon beguiled the pair into taking some fruit from a tree in the garden that God had forbidden them to touch. The consequence was that when "they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day" they attempted to hide themselves from his presence. But he called them to him and insisted upon knowing what had happened.

On hearing the account of their disobedience he immediately cursed the serpent and drove the man and his wife forever out of the garden, saying to the woman, "I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow shalt thou bring forth children; and thy desire shall be to thy husband and he shall rule over thee." And to Adam he said, "Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife and hast eaten of the tree of which I commanded thee, saying, Thou shalt not eat of it; cursed is the ground for thy sake; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life. Thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field. In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground." Notwithstanding their hard lot

the human race rapidly increased and multiplied according to the account, Adam himself living and begetting children till he was nine hundred and thirty years old, while some of his posterity lived to be still older.

But human wickedness more than kept pace with the increase in numbers. Soon "it repented Jehovah (Yahveh) that he had made man on the earth" and he therefore resolved to destroy everything upon its surface, "both man and beast and the creeping thing, and the fowl of the air," with a great flood. But one man, Noah, "found grace in the eyes of Jehovah" and he was commanded to build a great ark and bring into it his wife and his sons with their wives, together with two of every sort of "every living thing of all flesh." This he did and when the terrible flood came, lasting a hundred and fifty days, the ark and its contents alone survived the universal ruin.

Then God blessed Noah and his sons and commanded them to increase and multiply and replenish the earth; and he made a covenant with them, setting his bow in the cloud as a token of his everlasting love and favor and as a pledge that "the waters shall no more become a flood to destroy all flesh." It is stated that Noah lived after the flood three hundred and fifty years, dying at the age of nine hundred and fifty. No sooner, however, had the earth been repopled than human sin and arrogance again brought things to a climax. An attempt was made to build "a tower whose top should reach unto heaven." As soon as the rumors of this endeavor of men to become gods and set up for themselves reached Jehovah, he at once "came down to see the city and the tower, which the children of men builded." The result was that he immediately cut

short the project by confounding their language, "and so Jehovah scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth."

The next great event described in this history is the call of Abraham, who leaves his native city of Ur and follows the guidance of Jehovah into a new and strange land. There he becomes the founder of a great nation and the father of the faithful in all time. Twice before had Jehovah entered into covenant with mankind—with Adam and with Noah—and twice it had been broken. Now "a chosen people is raised up through whom all the families of the earth are blessed."

Two events in the life of Abraham are especially to be noted—his plea with Jehovah for the doomed cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, and the sacrifice of Isaac. The former is full of naïve dignity and moral earnestness. Jehovah, having heard of the corruption of Sodom, accompanied by two angels comes down to inquire into the case. He first pays a visit to Abraham and takes a repast with him. Then he sends the angels to destroy the city, but after they have gone Abraham intercedes with Jehovah to spare the place, knowing that his kinsman Lot dwells in it.

The narrative runs as follows: "And Abraham drew near and said, Wilt thou consume the righteous with the wicked? Perhaps there are fifty righteous men within the city. Wilt thou consume and not spare the place for the fifty righteous who are therein? That be far from thee to do after this manner, to slay the righteous with the wicked; that so the righteous should be as the wicked; that be far from thee; shall not the Judge of all the earth do right? And Jehovah said, If I find in Sodom fifty righteous, then I will spare all the place for their sake. And Abraham answered and said:

My Lord, I who am dust and ashes have taken upon me to speak to thee ; there may perhaps lack five of the fifty righteous ; wilt thou destroy all the city for lack of five ? And he said, I will not destroy it if I find there forty and five.

“And he spake unto him yet again, and said, Perhaps there shall be forty found there. And he said, I will not do it for the forty’s sake. And he said, O let not my Lord be angry, and I will speak ; perhaps there shall thirty be found there. And he said, I will not do it if I find thirty there. And he said, Behold now, my Lord, I have taken upon me to speak to thee ; perhaps there shall be twenty found there. And he said, I will not destroy it for the twenty’s sake. And he said, O let not my Lord be angry, and I will speak yet but once ; perhaps ten shall be found there. And he said, I will not destroy it for the ten’s sake. And Jehovah went his way as soon as he had left communing with Abraham and Abraham returned unto his place” (Gen. xviii. 23-33).

The ten righteous men could not be found and the destruction of the city was complete, Lot alone escaping with his wife and daughters. But the wife looked back and was turned into a pillar of salt.

When Abraham and Sarah his wife were in their extreme old age, Isaac, the long-promised seed, was born. But straightway the Lord ordered Abraham to offer him as a sacrifice on Mount Moriah. This he proceeded to do until he was stayed by divine interposition, and a ram was substituted in Isaac’s place.

To the mind of Abraham, according to these accounts, Jehovah was “The Most High.” He talked with Abraham face to face and was his personal protector and friend. He agreed to give him and his posterity

the land of Canaan, and in this promise Abraham had implicit faith. Abraham's belief in Jehovah did not exclude belief in other gods, but they were all inferior to his God. While he thought of Jehovah as almighty, he did not regard him as omniscient or omnipresent. When the rumors concerning the sinfulness of Sodom began to circulate, Jehovah had to come down to ascertain whether they were correct or not. And he had doubts about the faith of Abraham, so he ordered him to sacrifice his son Isaac.

Joseph, one of the descendants of Abraham, owing to his skill in interpreting dreams rose to high dignity and honor in the court of Egypt, and it was through his agency that the entire Israelitish family in a time of famine was allowed to settle in the rich pasture lands in the northern part of that country. Genesis closes with an account of the death of Joseph and his assertion to his brethren that "Jehovah will surely visit you and bring you out of this land unto the land which he swore to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob."

Exodus tells us that the rapid increase of this "chosen people" in numbers and wealth soon began to alarm the ruler of the Egyptians and he resolved to despoil them of their possessions and reduce them to the class of slaves. It also tells us how, in this emergency, Moses was raised up to be their leader and to guide them back into the land that Jehovah had promised to their fathers. Early adopted by the daughter of Pharaoh, Moses had been thoroughly educated in all the learning of the Egyptian priesthood and for many years had enjoyed all the honors and privileges of a member of the royal court. But his heart went out toward his suffering brethren. Because of some act of cruelty he smote to the ground an overseer who was in

charge of some Jewish slaves. This made him an exile and it was while living as a shepherd in Arabia Petrea that "the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush. . . . The bush burned with fire and the bush was not consumed. . . . God called unto him out of the midst of the bush and said, Moses, Moses. And he said, Here am I." As a result of the extended interview that followed Moses was commissioned to go to Pharaoh and bring forth the chosen people out of Egypt "unto a good land and a large, unto a land flowing with milk and honey."

To assure Moses of his continued presence in the carrying out of this undertaking, Jehovah directed him to cast his shepherd's rod upon the ground and immediately it became a serpent. "And Jehovah said unto Moses, Put forth thy hand and take it by the tail. And he put forth his hand and caught it, and it became a rod in his hand. That they may believe that Jehovah the God of their fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath appeared unto thee." In the same way Jehovah changed the hand of Moses instanter into a leprous hand as white as snow, and back again into a hand of natural flesh.

With his rod Moses brought many deadly plagues upon Egypt. With it he parted the Red Sea and let the chosen people pass through on dry land to the number of "about six hundred thousand on foot that were men, besides children." With it he caused the waters of the sea to return and engulf the pursuing hosts of Pharaoh so that "there remained not so much as one of them." He smote the rock in Horeb with it and the water gushed out in great abundance, and he repeatedly gave instantaneous success to the

armies of Israel against enormous odds by raising it aloft.

When the Children of Israel arrived at Mount Sinai, Jehovah came down upon the top of the mount, and amid great "thunderings and the lightnings and the noise of the trumpet" he called Moses up to the top of the mount, and when he had made an end of communing with him he gave him "two tables of testimony, tables of stone, written with the finger of God." When Moses came down from the mount he showed to the people the Ten Commandments on these tables, and proclaimed them as the law of the land.

The rest of Exodus from the twentieth chapter containing these commandments, is taken up with a description of the efforts of Moses to organize the people into a nation under a divinely prescribed system of ceremonial laws.

Leviticus contains numerous special laws, chiefly those relating to public worship, festivals, and similar topics.

Numbers gives a supplement to the laws and tells of the weary march through the desert and the beginning of the conquest of Canaan.

In Deuteronomy Moses, as an old man near his end, reminds the people of the experiences they have gone through, of the laws they have received, and exhorts them to follow and obey Jehovah.

In the book of Joshua we read of the conquest and partition of Canaan and of the farewell exhortation and death of Joshua.

Judges describes the anarchy and apostasy that soon followed. It tells of the consequent subjugation of the chosen people by their heathen neighbors and the exploits of the heroes that were raised up to rescue them.

The two books of Samuel give us an account of Samuel's life as a prophet and judge, and the history of Saul and David.

In the books of Kings we read of the death of David, the brilliant reign of Solomon, the decline of the kingdom, the revolt of the ten tribes, their practical annihilation, the carrying away into captivity of the greater part of the kingdom of Judah, and the fate of the miserable remnant. At the same time the books describe the treatment of the noble prophets who kept on testifying for God in spite of the opposition of wicked kings and the indifference of a degenerate people.

Chronicles supplements this history and Ruth is introduced as an episode in the time of the Judges, telling with exquisite grace how Ruth the Moabitess came to marry Boaz, the great-grandfather of David.

Ezra and Nehemiah close the strictly historical part by describing the return of the chosen people from their foreign exile, the rebuilding of Jerusalem, and the restoration of the temple worship. The book of Esther records the wonderful escape of the Jews from annihilation while held in captivity by their Persian conquerors.

The book of Job is a philosophical work of great beauty of diction, abounding in profound thoughts, especially upon the origin of evil and the mission of suffering, and inculcating the duty of absolute resignation to God's mysterious will.

The Psalms are a collection of devotional lyrics much prized by the Jews. The first one reads as follows :

“ 1. Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful.

“ 2. But his delight is in the law of the Lord ; and in his law doth he meditate day and night.

“ 3. And he shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth his fruit in his season ; his leaf also shall not wither ; and whatsoever he doeth shall prosper.

“ 4. The ungodly are not so : but are like the chaff which the wind driveth away.

“ 5. Therefore the ungodly shall not stand in the judgment, nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous.

“ 6. For the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous : but the way of the ungodly shall perish.”

The twenty-third Psalm is perhaps the gem of the collection, and consists of the following verses :

“ 1. The Lord is my shepherd ; I shall not want.

“ 2. He maketh me to lie down in green pastures : he leadeth me beside the still waters.

“ 3. He restoreth my soul : he leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for his name's sake.

“ 4. Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil : for thou art with me ; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me.

“ 5. Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies : thou anointest my head with oil ; my cup runneth over.

“ 6. Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life : and I will dwell in the house of the Lord for ever.”

The Proverbs is a book of wise maxims and short discourses on more or less practical affairs. Ecclesiastes is an eloquent wail over the transitoriness of all earthly things, and the Song of Solomon is an amatory idyl, the mission of which it is hard to explain. The Jews had a rule that no one should read it till he was over thirty, and the utility of reading it at all was often questioned.

The remaining books of the bible of the Jews from Isaiah to Malachi are prophetic in their character. They take the religious experiences and ideas that the historical books make known to us, and show how they ought to inspire the people with unremitting zeal in their conflict with unbelief and apostasy. They also point out how those who are faithful to Jehovah ought to look forward with high anticipation for the future. For deep religious feeling and sublime conceptions of God, for beautiful diction and rich imagery, many of these books are unsurpassed. As a whole they reveal the nation's heart and purpose in a way that is unique in the history of any race or people. As one of the best samples of this kind of literature in the Old Testament we may take the fifty-fifth chapter of Isaiah :

“ 1. Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money ; come ye, buy and eat ; yea, come, buy wine and milk without money, and without price.

“ 2. Wherefore do ye spend money for that which is not bread ? and your labour for that which satisfieth not ? Hearken diligently unto me, and eat ye that which is good, and let your soul delight itself in fatness.

“ 3. Incline your ear, and come unto me : hear, and your soul shall live ; and I will make an everlasting covenant with you, even the sure mercies of David.

“ 4. Behold, I have given him for a witness to the people, a leader and commander to the people.

“ 5. Behold, thou shalt call a nation that thou knowest not ; and nations that knew not thee shall run unto thee, because of the Lord thy God, and for the Holy One of Israel ; for he hath glorified thee.

“6. Seek ye the Lord while he may be found, call ye upon him while he is near.

“7. Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts; and let him return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon him: and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon.

“8. For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord.

“9. For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts.

“10. For as the rain cometh down, and the snow, from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud, that it may give seed to the sower, and bread to the eater;

“11. So shall my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth; it shall not return unto me void; but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it.

“12. For ye shall go out with joy, and be led forth with peace: the mountains and the hills shall break forth before you into singing, and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands.

“13. Instead of the thorn shall come up the fir tree, and instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle tree: and it shall be to the Lord for a name, for an everlasting sign that shall not be cut off.”

In recent years the several books of this Hebrew bible have been studied as to their origin and composition with scrupulous care by a great number of eminent scholars such as Eichhorn, Graf, Bleek, Wellhausen, and Holzinger in Germany; Kuenen and his followers in Holland; Cheyne and Driver in England; Robertson Smith and George Adam Smith in Scotland; and Toy,

Briggs, Bacon, Kent, and Mitchell in America. The result is that few, if any, investigators in our day disagree with the opinion that what we call the Old Testament was not originally written as we now have it, but is the work of a great number of prophets, and priests, and sages, extending over a long period of time. "Some of the oldest poems of the Old Testament," says Professor Kent, "go back to the days of the Judges, about B.C. 1200, and certain of the Psalms and the Book of Daniel are in all probability later than B.C. 200."

Almost every book in this Hebrew bible is now regarded as a conglomerate made up of material taken from early and late sources, joined together by faithful copyists and editors, who were interested in preserving them for future times. In other words, it is now recognized that the history of the bible of the Hebrews is like that of other ancient sacred books. It began with the recording of the songs and legends of the people and then gradually received other additions by way of prophetic utterances and ceremonial laws, till it finally crystallized into its present form and came to be regarded as an unalterable rule of faith and practice.

Genesis, the first book of the Old Testament, is now held to be made up of two great compilations. The first is a history written from the point of view of the prophets and consists of two documents called respectively the Jehovistic and the Elohist, because of the term uniformly applied to God in each of them. The fact that these documents often described the same events accounts for the many stories repeated in the book, especially in the first part. The second is a priestly history forming a setting to the priestly code. This is held to be post-exilic in origin, the author get-

ting much of his material for the account of creation, the origin of the Sabbath, the Flood, and other alleged prehistoric events during the Babylonish captivity. The first compilation is regarded as the work of a Judean editor about 750 B.C. It is evident, therefore, that the book of Genesis came into being gradually, and, long after the time of Moses took on its present form.

The composite character of Exodus is seen in the fact that the legislative sections, namely, xxi.-xxiii., known as the Book of the Covenant ; xx. 1-17, the Decalogue; and xxxiv. 10-28, the older Decalogue, evidently belong to different periods. It is the general opinion of competent authorities that the oldest form of the Decalogue cannot be much older than the eighth century, several centuries after the time of Moses. Numbers is moral in tone rather than ritual, and the stress laid upon the prohibition of image-worship requires a later date than that of Elijah and Elisha.

As to Leviticus the Law of Holiness (chapters xvii.-xxvi.) is now believed to have been compiled during the exile, and, together with the Priestly Code making up the rest of the book and the book of Numbers, to have been put into its present form by the editors of the Pentateuch after the return from Babylon about 444 B.C.

The chronological order of these codes is now thought to be as follows : Book of the Covenant, Deuteronomic Code, Law of Holiness, and Priestly Code. In the first there is no restriction of the worship of Jehovah to a single sanctuary, but there is in all the others. The Holiness Code recognizes only Aaronites as priests. The Priestly Code makes a sharp division between Levites and priests.

Scholars are now practically unanimous that the book

of Deuteronomy is the book referred to in 2 Kings xxii. 8, as having been found in the eighteenth year of Josiah (622 B.C.) by the High Priest Hilkiah. It is also agreed that this law-book was not by any means as extensive as the present book of Deuteronomy. Many think that it consisted of chapters v.-xxvi., composed not earlier than the time of Hezekiah, and perhaps by Hilkiah himself. The rest of the work according to the scholars of to-day is made up of later additions to fit the book into its present place in the Pentateuch. Such investigators as Kuenen, Graf, Wellhausen, and Stade regard the Deuteronomic Code as based upon the Book of the Covenant (Ex. xxi.-xxiii.) which it enlarges and adapts to new conditions. They also hold that it is older than the Law of Holiness (Lev. xvii.-xxvi.) and the Priestly Code.

It is now maintained that the original Deuteronomy was probably written in Jerusalem, where a special effort was made after the destruction of the northern kingdom to form an ideal code that would keep the people true to the worship of Jehovah. And as all the prophets were constantly pointing to the days of the wanderings in the wilderness under the leadership of Moses as the ideal days, tradition gradually came to attribute the authorship of the book to Moses, the subject-matter being made over by editors to fit in with this view.

The first five books of the Hebrew bible are no longer regarded as making up a consistent whole. The book of Joshua is now included with them and the collection is called the Hexateuch, the word Pentateuch being excluded from use, when the attempt is made to deal with an actual grouping of the facts.

The book of Joshua, it is now admitted, was written long after the time of Joshua. The historical narrative

in it, practically all agree, was probably written in the seventh century B.C., while the various codes and the priestly history were added several centuries later. Joshua, it is now held, was a prominent leader in the movement which brought the Hebrews into possession of the lands to the west of Jordan, and in all likelihood captured Jericho, but the other deeds attributed to him in the book belong to later periods.

The books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings are no longer regarded as histories in the proper sense of that term. The events recorded in them do not follow each other either chronologically or otherwise according to any discoverable plan. Together with the books that precede them, constituting the Hexateuch, they form in the opinion of modern scholars a great historical compilation extending from the creation to the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar II. in 586 B. C. It was made from numerous sources that were put into their present form by redactors of post-exilic times, who took it for granted that the promises alleged to have been made to Abraham and Moses regarding the possession of Canaan and the future greatness of the Hebrew people had already been literally fulfilled.

Chronicles is now considered as one work with Ezra and Nehemiah, they all having a common author. It is evident that the writer lived some time after Ezra and was devoted to the religious institutions of the new theocracy. It is doubtful if the references to Ezra and Nehemiah as leaving memoirs are authentic. It is also doubtful if any return of exiles in large numbers took place in the time of Cyrus.

As a consequence of this modern attempt to get at the facts scholars now hold that there was an individual by the name of Moses of whom we have some distinct

reminiscences, but for the most part the name designates a personage around whom there gradually came to be centred all the traditions, legends, and myths connected with the exodus from Egypt and the settlement of the people in their own land.

In the opinion of a large number of scholars Abraham designates a tribe merely and not an individual. Some, however, regard him as a real personage who probably had his home at Hebron. All admit that many of the stories told of him have come down from various periods and preserve for us a picture of the conditions that prevailed in the earliest times of which the people centuries after his demise had any recollection.

Some scholars now hold that Isaac is a tribal name, but that the character of the tribe has been almost entirely obscured by the many legends that have grown up around a supposed personality. The incidents in the story of the offering up of Isaac on Mount Moriah were invented, it is thought, to account for the prohibition of human sacrifices as set forth in the Pentateuchal codes, and to emphasize the claims of Jerusalem as the only legitimate sanctuary of Jehovah. The home of the tribe was probably Beersheba, just as Hebron was of Abraham and Bethel of Jacob. The stories about these three patriarchs, it is held, represent the gradual coalition of the traditions of the three clans that united to form the confederacy known as the Bene Israel or Children of Israel.

David, in the opinion of most modern scholars, was a great warrior and a natural born leader of men, full of courage and inexhaustible energy. But he was often cruel to his enemies, sometimes treacherous, and always willing to adopt any measures to accomplish his ends. Many hold that he did not write any poetry, excepting,

perhaps, the dirge on the deaths of Saul and Jonathan.

The life and works of Solomon, David's son and successor, are described, it is believed, with considerable accuracy in Kings, though highly colored by legendary lore added several centuries later than the earlier documents upon which the account in Kings is based. The books ascribed to him—Proverbs, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes—are all of them now regarded as much later than his day. The description of the temple he built is generally considered to be a great exaggeration, while the account of the ceremonies that took place in it is held to be post-exilic, and so is also the prayer of consecration. Such a story as that of the alleged visit of the Queen of Sheba to learn by personal observation of the glory of Solomon, naturally came to connect itself in the minds of the people with his magnificent reign.

All authorities agree that the book of Proverbs is a combination of several distinct collections, and that some of the sayings may go back to the time of Solomon. Yet the work as a whole was a gradual growth and must have extended over several centuries. It is believed that the first of the eight sections (chapters i.-ix.) into which it is divided is the latest, and was not put into its present form till about 250 B.C. The second section (chapters x.-xxii.) is regarded as the oldest and composed not long before the return from Babylonia.

Of the one hundred and fifty compositions making up the book of Psalms, seventy-three came eventually to be ascribed to David. But it is now held by Ols-hausen, Cheyne, George Adam Smith, and other eminent scholars that none of the Psalms were written in his time, or even before the exile. Some, however,

would admit the existence of pre-exilic Psalms and a few are still of the opinion that the first Psalm and possibly several others are Davidic. The first of the three collections into which the Psalms are now divided, scholars tell us, was probably compiled in the days of Ezra; the second in the Persian period; and the third in the Greek, close to the beginning of the Christian era. Long before any of the Psalms were composed there must have existed much of what may be called folk-poetry, such as David's lament over Saul and Jonathan (2 Samuel i. 17-27), the Song of the Well (Numbers xxi. 17-18), the Song of Lamech (Genesis iv. 23-24), and the Song of Deborah (Judges v. 1-31). The lost book of Jasher was probably a book of songs.

Canticles is now regarded as a collection of songs used at weddings and similar gatherings. Instead of being written by Solomon, it is supposed to be one of the latest compilations to find a place in the Hebrew canon. Because Solomon early became the ideal representative of wisdom and riches and power, the original author of Ecclesiastes naturally ascribed his book to him as the best judge of the vanity of life. Everything is doubted in the book except, indeed, the divine existence,—the advantages of wisdom and virtue, and even the justice and goodness of God. It is thoroughly pessimistic and was probably written at some special period of depression in the history of the Jews. It was admitted into the canon only after later editors had interspersed some elevating sentiments through the body of it, and especially had added a pious conclusion to soften down its audacious tone.

The longest and greatest of all the prophetic books of the Old Testament is Isaiah. It is now considered

by modern scholars as the work of several authors, extending over a long period of time. They account for its existence as follows: The discourses of Isaiah, who was born about 760 B.C., form only a small portion of the book, and these have been much changed to adapt them to more modern conditions. The watchword of Isaiah was that no people can prosper except by right conduct, and the impression that this message made upon his own age was propagated to later times. He thus became the type of all genuine prophets of Jehovah. Every one who brought forth a similar message for the people strove to have it considered a part of Isaiah's.

The book is a twofold collection. The first takes in chapters i.-xxxiii., and contains the discourses of Isaiah; the second (chapters xxxiv.-lxvi.) is exilic and post-exilic, and must be the work of several other authors. Isaiah was a prophet of doom, but he came to be supplemented later by the prophets of hope. The book probably extends from the last of the eighth century B.C. to the beginning of the third. Chapter ii. stands by itself and seems to be a very late introduction written after the rest of the collection had come into its present form.

The second of the four major prophetic books, Jeremiah, appears to have had an origin very similar to that of Isaiah. Only a few of the discourses in it, it is now believed, can be definitely ascribed to Jeremiah, who was born about 650 B.C., and no one of these is probably just as he delivered it. The compilers of the book have sought to bring together under his name whatever they could find that would give consolation and inspiring thoughts to the faithful. It is chiefly the product of the sad days that followed the departure of

Nehemiah and reaches down to the uprising of the Maccabees.

The book of Lamentations is not now generally ascribed to Jeremiah though it is admitted that the work has been greatly influenced by his style and thought. Most of the elegies or dirges in it were composed to bewail catastrophes that befell the people both before and after the exile.

Scholars now maintain that most of the prophecies that have come down to us in Ezekiel are substantially as they were left by the prophet, who was himself one of the captives carried to Babylonia at the command of Nebuchadnezzar. By visions, parables, and allegories, he endeavored to arouse the masses to a genuine realization of the sad events that were transpiring around them, and at the same time to comfort and encourage them for the future.

That the book of Daniel was composed about the year 165 B.C. is now admitted by practically all scholars. The narratives and visions refer to conditions that existed in Jerusalem at the time when the Jews were being bitterly oppressed because of their religion by Antiochus IV., surnamed Epiphanes, King of Syria 187-164 B.C. While some hold that the book is the work of several authors most scholars now regard it as the product of a single mind. Antiochus was endeavoring to supplant the Jewish rites by introducing the Greek form of worship. The author of Daniel, using different historical names, such as Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, and Darius for his attacks upon Antiochus, makes every effort he can by the use of figures and visions to stir up his compatriots to throw off the hated yoke. The book did in all probability have much to do in bringing about the Maccabean uprising which for a

time gave the Jews great hope of restoring their national unity and power.

Of the so-called twelve minor prophets scholars are agreed that they each represent original discourses much modified by later additions and interpolations. They are not arranged in chronological order, either in the Hebrew or in the English bible.

Malachi, although the last in the English version, is now regarded as belonging to the Persian period and as written about the first half of the fourth century B.C., when the evils described in it were beginning to reach their climax. Moreover, the title Malachi in the opinion of many scholars does not refer to any individual, but is to be taken literally as "my messenger." Others in the list of the minor prophets are probably also anonymous. No one claims that the book of Jonah contains his prophecies. It is merely a story about him, an allegory teaching the lesson that man cannot escape from God by flight, and that when one has a duty to perform he should do it fearlessly, leaving results to God.

It is now held that the thing that most radically affected the composition and character of the Hebrew bible was the Babylonian captivity. When Jerusalem fell the people for the first time in their history began to realize their true position. They began to see that their calamities were due to their sins in not following the injunctions of their prophets; and that, if they were ever to regain their national existence, they must make up their minds to abolish all other deities and rites and worship Jehcvah alone. During the exile they had due time to reflect upon the situation. Their leaders searched into the annals and traditions of the past and they found that whenever they had

turned aside to other gods disasters at once began to multiply.

Nothing, therefore, was of greater moment to them than to know exactly what course of action and life would be acceptable to Jehovah. Their prophets and scribes set to work to prepare such a code. Ezra, who was the chief agent in this work, first introduced the code with the aid of Nehemiah at the time when a small remnant of the faithful gathered together about the ruins of Jerusalem in 444 B.C. From that time forth this code was regarded as embodying the direct, unchangeable will of Jehovah. Later, after many legends and much historical matter had been added to it, it became our present Pentateuch, which was itself finally incorporated with other laws and traditions ending with the second book of Kings.

The whole Hebrew bible represents a period of literary activity of over a thousand years, ending with the book of Daniel about 165 B. C. The style of its thought is intuitive rather than logical. It has little interest in scientific method, yet its love of nature is one of its most striking features. The subjects it treats concern almost every phase of human life. Its chief aim is to present the character and will of Jehovah and to set forth the principles upon which he governs his universe. Its legal codes were intended to show the people how they might attain their own highest development and at the same time carry out the plans and purposes of their God. Many of the Psalms voice the feelings and the attitude of will that characterize every truly religious individual.

The modern study of the book has brought out the fact that the truths it contains are the result of centuries of growth and development from the gross and superficial to the deeply spiritual and profound. The message

that it brings to mankind must always remain a living and a vital one.

i. The Christian Scriptures.—The book containing the history and teachings of early Christianity is now called the New Testament, and even the most casual reader cannot fail to see that it was written to record the experiences of a small number of people in a decidedly obscure corner of the earth.

The book is a collection of writings which may well be arranged, as we now have them, into three main groups. To the first or the historical group belong the four gospels, giving an account of the life and discourses of Jesus, and the Acts of the Apostles, describing the influence of that life upon the Jewish and pagan world of their day. The second, or didactic and hortatory group, is made up of thirteen epistles of Paul, two of Peter, three of John, one epistle of James, and one of Jude. The third consists solely of the book of Revelation.

The four gospels are attributed respectively to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. Chapter i. of Matthew's gospel begins with, "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ," tracing it back to Abraham through Joseph, the husband of Mary of whom Jesus was born. Then follows the announcement by an angel of the Lord to Joseph of the coming virgin birth of Jesus. Chapter ii. tells of the visit of the Magi who came to worship the infant Jesus, being guided by a star which "went before them till it came and stood over where the young child was." Herod the King sought to kill the child, but Joseph fled with his family into Egypt, returning after the death of Herod and settling at Nazareth. After a brief resumé of the ministry of John the Baptist and his baptism of Jesus in chapter iii., we

have an account of the fasting and temptation of Jesus in the first part of chapter iv. The rest of the chapter tells us how Jesus began to preach, to call his followers from their fishing nets, and to heal all manner of diseases.

From this point on the author seems to abandon the chronological order for the topical. Chapters v., vi., and vii. contain a group of discourses describing the character of the Messianic Kingdom, now called the Sermon on the Mount, which begins with the following Beatitudes (Chapter v. 3-16.):

“Blessed are the poor in spirit : for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

“Blessed are they that mourn : for they shall be comforted.

“Blessed are the meek : for they shall inherit the earth.

“Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness : for they shall be filled.

“Blessed are the merciful : for they shall obtain mercy:

“Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.

“Blessed are the peacemakers : for they shall be called the children of God.

“Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness’ sake : for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

“Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake.

“Rejoice, and be exceeding glad : for great is your reward in heaven : for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.”

In chapter vi. 9-13 we have what is now commonly called the Lord’s Prayer which reads as follows :

“ Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name.

“ Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven.

“ Give us this day our daily bread :

“ And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors.

“ And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil : For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen.”

The next two chapters describe a series of miracles Jesus performed, such as cleansing the leper, stilling the tempest, raising from death the daughter of Jairus, and giving sight to two blind men. Then comes another group of discourses, or parables, setting forth the nature of the Messianic Kingdom, which in turn is followed by another group of miracles covering chapters x.-xiv. So far we have the ministry of Jesus in Galilee. With a similar grouping of miracles and discourses his ministry north and east of Galilee is described in chapters xv.-xviii. The latter part of the gospel is taken up with his work in and about Jerusalem, closing with an account of his betrayal, trial, crucifixion, and resurrection.

The writer clearly shows that his purpose is to set forth Jesus as the promised Jewish Messiah. But he severely rebukes the view of the Messiah held by the Scribes and Pharisees of his time, and strongly emphasizes the commission of Jesus to go into all the world and make disciples of all nations.

The gospel according to Mark, although it goes over much of the same ground as the gospel according to Matthew, differs from it in being more simple in its structure and in following the normal chronological order of events in the life of Jesus. In the first thirteen

verses it briefly describes the work of John the Baptist and the baptism and temptation of Jesus. It then takes up the popular work of Jesus in and beyond Galilee, setting it forth mainly as a work of instruction for his immediate disciples (chapter i. 14-ix. 29). Then begins the journey to Jerusalem when Jesus clearly announces his coming death, which, according to Mark, seems to have determined from that time on the character of his work. At Jerusalem Jesus lays his claims to be the Messiah before the religious leaders, who persistently reject them (chapters ix. 30-xiii. 37). The concluding chapters, as with Matthew, deal with the betrayal, crucifixion, and resurrection.

Mark makes no reference to the virgin birth of Jesus, or the Sermon on the Mount. When he introduces any of the discourses of Jesus they are very much shorter than in Matthew. The familiarity of the author with Jewish customs and ideas, as well as his intimate acquaintance with the Aramaic language, shows that he was a Jew, but the constant need of explaining these customs and interpreting this language to his readers shows that he was writing for Gentile Christians rather than for Jewish, as we found was the case with Matthew.

The third of these gospels differs from either of the preceding both in the amount and the arrangement of its material. The author states in his introduction that his purpose is to give Theophilus, the person to whom the work is addressed, a more orderly and complete account of the "things most surely believed among us" than he had already received. The narrative begins, not only with an extended description of the virgin birth of Jesus, but also of the birth of John the Baptist; and ends with an account of the ascension.

Besides giving very much the same material as is found in Matthew and Mark, he adds many new details and brings out many new facts; for example, he alone gives the song of Mary, the prophetic song of Zacharias, the story of the shepherds, the song of Simeon, and the visit of the boy Jesus to Jerusalem. In describing the public ministry of Jesus the writer arranges his material into two main divisions about the same as Mark does, namely, the work of Jesus among the people and his work of instructing his disciples. The gospel of Luke alone contains an account of the transfiguration. The last journey of Jesus to Jerusalem is described at much greater length than in any of the other gospels, nearly ten chapters being devoted to it.

It is admitted by the author that he was not an eye-witness of the events he describes, but he claims to have access to material that was prepared by those who "from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word." He is evidently writing chiefly for Gentile readers, for he habitually quotes from the Septuagint translation, avoids the use of Aramaisms, and assumes that his readers are unacquainted with Palestinian geography and Jewish customs.

In marked contrast with the three gospels already mentioned, the gospel of John is not in any sense a biography of Jesus. The author assumes that his readers already know of the principal events in the life of Jesus from other sources. Only the events of a very few days in his public ministry are described at any length by him, probably less than twenty. The author himself declares that the purpose of his writing is to help his readers to "believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God" (xx. 31), and he selects such

events and discourses as he thinks will contribute to this end.

He asserts at the very outset that Jesus was the divine Logos incarnate, and introduces the prologue to his gospel with the following remarkable passage: "In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him; and without him was not anything made that was made. In him was life; and the life was the light of men." The rest of the gospel is written to show how Jesus established this belief regarding himself in the minds and hearts of his disciples.

The author tells us in the first four chapters how the earliest followers of Jesus began to have faith in him. Then he writes in the next eight chapters chiefly of the great conflict Jesus had with the unbelieving Jews and what unavailing efforts he put forth to convince them. Even the great miracle of the raising of Lazarus from the dead only made them more intensely hostile.

The next section of the gospel (chapters xiii.-xvii.) treats of the self-revelation of Jesus to his disciples. By washing their feet, by conversations at the supper about his relation to the Father and to them, by discourses on the way to Gethsemane, and by his intercessory prayers in their behalf, he made himself known to them in such a way that their faith in him was carried to the climax of intensity. Then follows the record of the chief culminating events in his earthly career, terminating in his glorious resurrection, and proving beyond all doubt to the mind of the writer that what he had claimed for Jesus in the prologue he really was.

The gospel seems to have been written by an eye-

witness of many of the events recorded in it. In some of these events he seems also to have taken a prominent part. His way of referring to most of the persons he mentions gives the impression of an intimate acquaintance with them, and his knowledge of Palestine and of Jewish customs and ideas appears to be entirely first hand. The natural inference is that the author was a Jew who had broken away from the Judaism of this time and given himself heart and soul to the advocacy of the Christian system.

The fifth book of the New Testament as we now have it, is called the Acts of the Apostles, and is substantially a continuation of the third gospel. The first part, after giving a fuller account of the ascension than we find in Luke, describes at length the work of Peter in extending the church in and about Jerusalem (chapters i.-xii.). The second part tells of the missionary journeys of Paul and his efforts to spread Christianity in Gentile lands. In this part the pronoun "we" is frequently used, implying that the writer was a companion of Paul at the time and had much to do with the events described.

Next comes the epistle to the Romans, the first of the thirteen epistles attributed in our New Testament to Paul. In this epistle the author states at the outset that he is intending to make his readers a visit, but at the time of writing is under obligation to go to Jerusalem. Very naturally under the circumstances he does what he can to inform them as to the vital matters in his preaching and thus prepare them to give him a friendly reception when on his coming tour he arrives in the metropolis of the world.

The epistle naturally divides itself into two main portions. The first part is chiefly doctrinal, ending with the

doxology in chapter xi. 36, and the second is chiefly practical. Paul at first explains his doctrine of justification through faith, and then, after vindicating the doctrine historically and experimentally against many conceivable objections, he shows why it ought to be preached to the Gentiles in spite of the fact that "salvation is of the Jews." The last chapter of the epistle is devoted to salutations to those in the Roman church with whom the writer had a personal acquaintance.

The epistle to the Romans is followed by two epistles to the Corinthians. The first treats of the divisions and abuses that existed in the Corinthian church and answers a number of questions which had been asked by letter. In chapter xiii. of this epistle we have the following remarkable description of the essence of all religion :

"1. Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal.

"2. And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing.

"3. And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.

"4. Charity suffereth long, and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up;

"5. Doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil;

"6. Rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth;

"7. Beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.

“ 8. Charity never faileth: but whether there be prophecies, they shall fail: whether there be tongues, they shall cease; whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away.

“ 9. For we know in part, and we prophesy in part.

“ 10. But when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away.

“ 11. When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man, I put away childish things.

“ 12. For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face; now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known.

“ 13. And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity.”

The second epistle to the Corinthians rebukes certain scandals that had arisen in the church, and seeks to restore Paul's apostolic authority, which had been questioned.

The next epistle was written “unto the churches of Galatia” which apparently were composed chiefly of Gentiles. Outside agitators were trying to persuade them that they must observe the ceremonial law of Moses, especially the rite of circumcision. Against this Paul vigorously protests and insists upon his fundamental doctrine of justification by faith and not by works. All that any believer has to do, he declares, is to bring forth the fruits of the Spirit.

The fifth epistle is addressed “to the saints which are at Ephesus.” The first three chapters are doctrinal; the last three hortatory and practical. After setting forth that Christ is “the head over all things to the church” and has “made us to sit together in heavenly places” through his grace and not through works,

Paul exhorts his readers to "walk worthy of the vocation" wherewith they are called and "keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace."

The sixth epistle of Paul is addressed "to all the saints in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi with the bishops and deacons." He exhorts them to "let nothing be done through strife and vainglory; but in lowliness of mind let each esteem other better than themselves." They are to "beware of evil workers and the false teachings in their midst, and to cleave earnestly and joyfully to the Christian life."

In the epistle to the Colossians Paul exalts the headship of Christ over the world and its powers, warns his readers against the Gnostic errors that were beginning to assert themselves, and exhorts them to trust implicitly and solely for salvation to faith in Christ.

Of the two epistles to the Thessalonians the first tells of the apostle's joy in their patient endurance of persecution, and he encourages them with the hope that the Lord would speedily return and deliver them out of all their distresses (chapter iv. 16-17). The second epistle is written to rebuke the Thessalonians for abandoning their usual occupations in view of this hope and urging that they be resumed. Meanwhile they should fix their attention upon certain events that must precede the Lord's second coming.

The three following epistles, two to Timothy and one to Titus, are attributed in their opening passages to Paul. They are occupied chiefly with the apostle's instructions as to the duties of the pastoral office, a work in which the recipients were at the time engaged. The second epistle to Timothy is peculiar in that the last chapter contains a reference to the apostle's expected martyrdom.

Philemon is a letter on a purely private matter written by Paul to his friend in behalf of a fugitive slave who had become a Christian under his influence. He exhorts his friend to pardon the slave and treat him as a Christian brother.

The last of the epistles attributed to Paul in our authorized version of the New Testament is the letter to the Hebrews. The object of the epistle is to show the infinite superiority of Christ over Moses and to warn its readers against apostasy. It establishes the New Testament on the basis of the Old and sets forth the eternal character of the priesthood and sacrifice of Christ. The eleventh chapter gives a glowing summary of the heroes of faith.

The general epistle of James comes next and the two epistles of Peter. James writes to defend the doctrine that "by works a man is justified and not by faith only." "For as the body without the spirit is dead, so faith without works is dead also" (chapter ii. 26).

The first epistle of Peter inculcates the need in perilous times of special patience under suffering and exhorts each one to attend carefully to his assigned duties. The second epistle is especially directed against false teachers and corrupters of the church.

In the first of the three epistles attributed to the apostle John the literary form and subject-matter remind one of the fourth gospel. The epistle is written to show the reader that the Word is the word of life, and to unfold what it is to be children of God. The second and third epistles are more like ordinary letters. The first seems to be a general letter to a church, and the third a supplementary note to an influential individual.

Jude is the last of the twenty-one epistles of the New

Testament. It is an impassioned outburst against heretics and false teachers, and much resembles the second epistle of Peter.

The last book of our New Testament is entitled *The Revelation of St. John the Divine*. It is properly called an apocalypse in that it attempts to explain the present dominion of evil in the world and to encourage the faithful by depicting the time when their prophetic hopes will be fulfilled and all evil shall be entirely overcome. By the use of visions and highly fantastic imagery, much of which is taken from the Old Testament, it exhorts its readers to resist the allurements of the reigning evil powers and cleave to God. It begins with certain admonitions in the form of letters to the seven churches. It then predicts the judgments that are speedily to fall upon the malign spirits that now dominate the world, and concludes with an account of the final blessedness which will come to those that endure.

It would be difficult to find any scholar in our day who would maintain that the different books of the New Testament were written in the order in which we now have them. On the contrary, it is generally agreed that most of the epistles were in existence long before the gospels, and that the gospels did not originally appear in their present form or order. Jesus himself left no writings and his early disciples probably did not at first see the need of any.

When, however, Paul by his missionary journeys among the Gentiles had established various groups of believers over the then Roman world, many occasions arose for apostolic counsels that could be given only by letter. Hence arose the epistles, which are all of them occasional writings, though some of them not

only give advice about the Christian life, but expound at considerable length the fundamental ideas upon which it is based.

The first book in the New Testament to be written, it is now maintained by many scholars, was the epistle of James. It is a sort of encyclical letter addressed "to the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad," and probably appeared some time before 50 A.D. from the pen of James, the head of the mother church. There is no sign in the epistle that any attempts had yet been made to carry the gospel beyond distinctively Jewish circles. The controversy about the position of the Gentiles in the church which led to the Jerusalem council had not yet come up. The point of view of the writer was still that of the Old Testament doctrine of justification by works, the Pauline doctrine not yet having been developed.

It is now generally admitted that after the epistle of James the oldest books of the New Testament are Paul's two letters to the Thessalonians, written chiefly to set aside their false expectations concerning the nearness of the return of Jesus. They were probably written at Corinth during A.D. 52 or 53. Then, according to most authorities, follow the doctrinal epistles,—Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Romans; while the so-called epistles of the imprisonment—Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians, and Philippians—are assigned to Paul's first Roman imprisonment during the years 62–63. The remaining pastoral epistles are supposed to have been written just before the apostle's martyrdom about 67 or 68. Some critics do not allow that Paul wrote all of the epistles ascribed to him above, and a few regard only the four doctrinal ones as genuinely his.

Regarding the epistle to the Hebrews all scholars reject it as Pauline on the ground that its style, its language, and its mode of thought do not resemble anything else attributed to him. Who the author of Hebrews was is still unsettled. Of the remaining epistles the first epistle of Peter was probably written by him at Rome, it is held, between 50 and 55 A.D. But the second epistle is of doubtful genuineness, no distinct trace of its existence having come to light before the time of Origen. The three epistles ascribed to the apostle John are generally regarded as his, though in each case there seems to be no way to fix their date, place of writing, or destination.

Regarding the gospels it is now the general opinion of scholars that for at least a generation after the death of Jesus no attempt was made to commit to writing any of his sayings or deeds, so widespread and universal was the belief that his second coming and the end of the world were close at hand. But as time wore away and he did not return it became evident that some authentic account of what the apostles had seen and heard about Jesus should be made for the benefit of those who were to come after them.

Specialists are now coming to recognize as the source of our present gospels of Matthew and Luke, two relatively primitive documents,—the gospel of Mark, or an early draft of it giving a simple account of the chief facts in the life of Jesus, and a document called "logia" made up chiefly of his sayings and discourses. The logia or discourses, it is held, were written in Aramaic and probably by the apostle Matthew. About the same time Mark, who is commonly known as the interpreter of Peter, wrote out in Greek what he had heard Peter say in his addresses about the life and

work of Jesus, adding from other sources whatever he regarded as equally trustworthy.

The first three gospels of our New Testament have so much in common that ever since the time of Griesbach, who over a hundred years ago published the first critical edition of the New Testament, they have generally been called the synoptic gospels. For they give the same general outline of the life of Jesus. As a rule they cite the same miracles and discourses and omit the same incidents. The order of events described is often the same, even when it is not chronological, and the language is also often identical.

It is now practically the unanimous verdict of scholars that Mark's gospel is much the earliest and was probably in existence by 70 A.D. It is also equally agreed that the authors of the first and third gospels of our New Testament were familiar with Mark's gospel and freely used it. Our present gospel of Matthew is thus the product of an attempt to combine the logia of the apostle Matthew with the original Mark. It was written in the first instance for Jewish Christians to show how the religion of Jesus organically developed out of the Law and the Prophets, but its author was not an apostle or a companion of Jesus, otherwise we should not have such an artificial arrangement of the material, or such a decided dependence upon previous authorities. About its exact date there is still a division of opinion, some putting it a little before and some shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem in the year 70 A.D.

When Rome, soon after this event, became one of the most important centres of Christianity the gospel of Mark, it is held, was re-edited and somewhat enlarged to adapt it to the comprehension and needs of

the Gentile Christians and brought into its present form. The preface (i. 1-3) was probably then added and also xvi. 9-20. Other minor insertions and changes were probably made at the same time throughout its entire contents.

Next the gospel of Luke is supposed to have appeared, possibly also in Rome, its author making use chiefly of the logia, the original Mark, and our Matthew, at the same time introducing other material both oral and written from sources now lost. Thus it is seen that each one of these writers made free use of what had been written by his predecessors and did not claim for himself or them any infallible authority. It is also clear that no one of these synoptic gospels, as we now have it, is the record of direct personal knowledge.

The gospel of John is admittedly one of the most important books of the whole New Testament. It is in many respects in striking contrast to the synoptic gospels already discussed. In place of genealogies the author puts a profound but brief statement regarding the incarnation of the eternal Logos. The earthly life of Jesus is laid by this writer almost exclusively in Judea, while the synoptics put it chiefly in Galilee. The latter give the impression that the public work of Jesus did not extend much over a year, while the former mentions three and perhaps more passovers. The fourth gospel puts the cleansing of the temple at the beginning of Jesus' ministry, the synoptics at the close. The last supper is placed by the synoptics on the evening of the passover itself, but this gospel puts it on the evening before. The gospel of John assumes that its readers are familiar with the other three and makes no mention of much that they record. Many of its characters are new and the same is true of its

scenes and localities. It introduces few miracles and chiefly those not referred to by the other gospels, such as the raising of Lazarus from the dead. John also makes their object different,—to show forth the super-human mission of Jesus, not to supply some pressing human need.

The lengthy discourses in the fourth gospel which take up the larger part of the work are very different from the parables and practical exhortations recorded by the other three. Their style and matter are so unique that it is hard to separate what the author attributes to Jesus from what he supplies himself. Furthermore, there is little or no room in the fourth gospel for the human development of Jesus. From the first he seems to be fully aware of his mission and so do his followers. The inwardness and spirituality of the religious experience recorded in this gospel, and its conception of the eternal life and of the last things, differ remarkably from what is everywhere present in the synoptics.

For these and other reasons a great controversy has been raging for nearly a century as to how the fourth gospel originated and what is its historical value. It is now generally maintained that in substance, at least, it is the work of the apostle John and was written at Ephesus near the close of the first century, primarily for the Christian circles of that region. John had had a long time to reflect upon the incidents he had witnessed and the discourses he had heard. He had lived very close to the Master, had observed the origin and progress of the church for over half a century, had been well acquainted with Paul, and in his later years had been profoundly affected by the philosophical speculations everywhere current in his adopted city.

His book was written to give his mature judgments concerning the mission of Jesus and in part to describe the growth of his own religious experience. He does not in all probability reproduce word for word the discourses of his Master, as he wishes at the same time to explain them and point out their eternal significance. "Being an apostle he did not need to be literal." Probably he frequently modified the historical setting in order more fully to attain his purpose. Probably also the gospel originally ended at the close of chapter xx. The twenty-first chapter, written to correct a wrong impression concerning the meaning of the words of Jesus to Peter regarding John, may have been added shortly after the apostle's death, if not before it.

Hitherto the book of Revelation has been considered a work so full of mystery as to be almost unintelligible except to a chosen few. Some have regarded its prophecies as referring to a time already past, some have taken the book, with the exception of the first three chapters, as having to do with events yet to come, and others have looked upon it as giving a symbolic history of the experience of the Christian church from the beginning to the end of time. It has usually been taken for granted that it was written by the apostle John when in exile on the island of Patmos just before the destruction of Jerusalem, and that he himself had only a dim consciousness of its significance.

In our time the book is no longer considered either obscure or mysterious, but far more easily comprehended, for the most part, than many things to be found in other portions of the New Testament. For it is now seen to have a strictly historical basis, and is interpreted solely in the light of the circumstances surrounding its origin and the views entertained by the

people for whom it was written. It is placed side by side with a mass of similar literature that appeared in abundance among the Jewish people from at least the second century B.C.

Scholars have now made it clear that for several centuries it was the universal expectation of the Jews that after one dreadful outburst of the hostile forces of earth and heaven, God would appear in the person of his Messiah and set up once for all his glorious kingdom. Whenever his people came to any crisis in their affairs owing to unusual persecutions or other distresses, an apocalypse would appear to revive their drooping spirits, strengthen their faith in God, and assure them of his final victory. Their apocalypses were written in riddles, because it was usually dangerous to be distinct, and because human nature instinctively associates the mysterious with the divine. They were generally ascribed to some celebrated character of the past in order to attract attention to their contents. Such writings attributed to Enoch, Moses, Ezra, Daniel, and others still exist.

Scholars now hold that the book of Revelation like the book of Daniel was written at a time of great religious persecution, and that like Daniel its predictions are based upon existing conditions and concern the immediate future. The author of the book is still in the Old Testament stage of development regarding the world and the state, which he hates with all his heart. He has not yet risen to the New Testament idea of loving his enemies. Still he shows a firm faith in Jesus as the true Messiah and Saviour of his people. So permeated is he with the spirit of the prophets and psalms that he borrows most of his strange imagery from Ezekial, Zechariah, and other Old Testament

writers who had adopted this peculiar mode of expressing their thoughts. These considerations lead the scholars of our day to place the date of its composition in the time of the Domitian persecutions, that is, about 95 or 96 A.D. This makes it the last book in point of time in the New Testament. Its author is now regarded as some unknown Jewish Christian not yet fully imbued with the spirit and teachings of the gospel. Its style and ideas are so far removed from the fourth gospel that few, if any, recent scholars can see in it the work of the profoundly philosophical and spiritually-minded apostle John.

To the New Testament as a whole we are chiefly indebted for the two ideas which lie at the foundation of the highest conceivable form of religion—the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. No other book gives us such a revelation of the love of God for all his creatures and his unceasing interest in everything that concerns their welfare. Jesus stands forth in it as the true interpreter of the universe, as the true revealer of the mind and heart of God. All that is noblest and best in our modern civilization and in our modern conception of religion we owe to his teachings and life.

j. **The Koran of Mohammed.**—The bible of the Mohammedans is about the size of the New Testament and is called the Koran, a term derived from a word meaning to chant or recite. It is the sacred book of more than a hundred millions of people, and according to a high authority “is perhaps the most widely read book in the world. It is the textbook in all Mohammedan schools. All Moslems know large parts of it by heart. Devout Moslems read it through once a month. Portions of it are recited in

the five daily prayers, and the recitation of the whole book is a meritorious work frequently performed at solemn or festival anniversaries." The students of science and philosophy among the Arabians almost from the time the Koran was first published have had it for their sole mission to understand its precepts.

The book consists of one hundred and fourteen chapters, or suras, and each chapter begins with a heading which states the title and almost always the place of revelation. Then comes the formula "In the name of the most merciful God." The first chapter is often called the Lord's Prayer of the Moslems, and is universally regarded as the gem of the whole book. It is entitled "The Introduction ; Revealed at Mecca," and reads as follows : "In the name of the most merciful God. Praise be to God, the Lord of all creatures ; the most merciful, the king of the day of judgment. Thee do we worship, and of thee do we beg assistance. Direct us in the right way, in the way of those to whom thou hast been gracious ; not of those against whom thou art incensed, nor of those who go astray."

There does not seem to be any other principle in the arrangement of the chapters than that of length. The longest chapter comes immediately after the introduction and consists, in Sale's translation, which is here followed, of many (34) pages. The shortest chapter is the 112th, and contains less than two lines. Chapter second is the real beginning of the book and is entitled "The Cow," probably from the story of the red heifer that occurs in it. The first part of this chapter is as follows : "Revealed partly at Mecca and partly at Medina. In the name of the most merciful God A. L. M. There is no doubt in this book ; it is a direction to the pious, who believe in the mysteries of

faith, who observe the appointed times of prayer, and distribute alms out of what we have bestowed upon them ; and who believe in that revelation, which hath been sent down unto thee, and that which hath been sent down unto the prophets before thee, and have firm assurance of the life to come ; these are directed by their Lord, and they shall prosper. As for the unbelievers, it will be equal to them whether thou admonish them or do not admonish them ; they will not believe. God hath sealed up their hearts and their hearing ; a dimness covereth their sight, and they shall suffer a grievous punishment."

The letters "A. L. M." have had many interpretations. The most reasonable one seems to be that they stand for "Amar li Mohammed," *i. e.*, "at the command of Mohammed." For it is universally admitted that the Koran is the work of Mohammed, and that he dictated it to an amanuensis. There is no evidence that he himself could either read or write.

The Koran from first to last claims to be direct from God. Except in a few passages where Mohammed or an angel is represented as speaking, God is the speaker throughout, using sometimes the pronoun "I," but generally the plural of majesty "we." The Koran itself claims to be simply a copy, "the original whereof is written in a table kept in heaven" (last line of chapter 85). It also states that the sacred book was "sent down" by God "gradually by distinct parcels" in order that the faithful might be the better confirmed in their hearts thereby. It affirms that an angel, generally called Gabriel, but sometimes the Holy Spirit, dictated the revelation to the Prophet, who committed it to memory and did not "forget any part thereof except what God shall please" (chapter 87).

In chapter second is briefly stated the attitude of the Koran towards Jesus and Christians, and many references to the subject occur in other chapters. "We follow the religion of Abraham the orthodox, who was no idolater. Say, We believe in God, and that which hath been sent down to us, and that which hath been sent down unto Abraham, and Ismael, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the tribes, and that which was delivered unto Moses, and Jesus, and that which was delivered unto the prophets and their Lord. We make no distinction between any of them and to God are we resigned." Farther on in the chapter frequent prayer is enjoined, and each believer is exhorted to "turn, therefore, thy face towards the holy temple of Mecca; and wherever ye be, turn your faces towards that place." A pilgrimage to Mecca is also enjoined and the abstaining from "that which dieth of itself, and blood and swine's flesh and that upon which any other name but God's hath been invoked. But he who is forced by necessity, not lusting, nor returning to transgress, it shall be no crime in him if he eat of those things, for God is gracious and merciful." In the middle of the chapter righteousness is described as follows: "It is not righteousness that ye turn your faces in prayer towards the east and the west, but righteousness is of him who believeth in God and the last day, and the angels, and the scriptures, and the prophets; who giveth money for God's sake unto his kindred, and unto orphans, and the needy, and the stranger, and those that ask, and for the redemption of captives; who is constant at prayer, and giveth alms; and of those who perform their covenant, when they have covenanted, and who behave themselves patiently in adversity, and hardships, and in time of violence; these

are they who are true and these are they who fear God."

War is enjoined against the infidels when they "obstruct the way of God" or introduce false gods. For "temptation to idolatry is more grievous than to kill." "When they will ask thee concerning wine and lots; answer, In both there is great sin, and also some things of use to men, but their sinfulness is greater than their use."

After treating of many other legislative matters much after the fashion of the Pentateuch and with frequent reference to the stories and incidents recorded in it, the chapter closes with the prayer: "O Lord, lay not on us a burden like that which thou hast laid on those who have been before us; neither make us, O Lord, to bear what we have not strength to bear, but be favorable unto us, and spare us, and be merciful unto us. Thou art our patron, help us therefore against the unbelieving nations."

The third sura is entitled, "The Family of Imram," which is the name given in the Koran to the father of the Virgin Mary, and like the second treats of a great variety of matters. The unity of God is constantly reiterated in it, also the value of the Koran as the book of truth, the blessedness of those who accept it, and the dreadful fate of those who do not. "There is no God but God, the living, the self-subsisting. . . . O Lord, thou shall surely gather mankind together unto a day of resurrection; there is no doubt of it, for God will not be contrary to the promise. As for the infidel, their wealth shall not profit them anything, nor their children, against God; they shall be the fuel of hell fire. . . . For those who are devout are prepared with their Lord gardens through which rivers flow;

therein shall they continue forever ; and they shall enjoy wives free from impurity, and the favor of God. Verily the true religion in the sight of God is Islam." A few pages of the chapter are devoted to matters concerning the Virgin, and what is said of her is taken for the most part from the various traditions of the Jews.

Chapter four has for its title "Women : Revealed at Medina," and chiefly treats of marriage, divorce, dower, the treatment of orphans, and the like. It begins, "O men, fear your Lord, who hath created you out of one man, and out of him created his wife, and from them two hath multiplied many men and women ; and fear God by whom ye beseech one another ; and respect women who have borne you, and give the orphans when they have come to age their substance ; and render them not in exchange bad for good ; and devour not their substance by adding it to your own substance, for this is a great sin ; and if ye fear that ye shall not act with equity towards orphans of the female sex, take in marriage such other women as please you, two, or three, or four, and no more. But if ye fear that ye cannot act equitably toward so many, marry one only, or the slaves which ye shall have acquired. This will be easier, that ye swerve not from righteousness." The laws enjoined in this chapter concerning the treatment of women and orphans do not differ materially from those of the Pentateuch, from which they are manifestly derived.

The title of the fifth sura is "The Table," which towards the end of the chapter is said to have been let down from heaven to Jesus. It is chiefly devoted to exhortations to follow the Koran. The law was sufficient, it is argued, until the coming of Jesus Christ, after which the gospel was the rule. Both are now set

aside by the Koran because in it they both come to their proper fulfilment.

Turning to the middle chapters of the book we find that many of them consist only of a few pages and are devoted in a large degree to the defence of the author as an apostle of God. They also abound in fuller and more vivid descriptions of the rewards of the faithful and the fate of unbelievers.

Take, for example chapter fifty-three, entitled "The Star," which opens as follows: "By the star when it setteth; your companion Mohammed erreth not; nor is led astray; neither doth he speak of his own will. It is no other than a revelation which hath been revealed unto him. One mighty in power, endued with understanding, taught it him; and he appeared in the highest part of the horizon. Afterwards he approached the prophet and came near unto him; until he was at the distance of two bows' length from him, or yet nearer; and he revealed unto his servant that which he revealed. The heart of Mohammed did not falsely represent that which he saw."

Chapter fifty-four is entitled "The Moon," and begins: "The hour of judgment approaches; and the moon hath been split in sunder; but if the unbelievers see a sign, they turn aside saying, This is a powerful charm, and they accuse thee, O Mohammed, of imposture, and follow their own lusts; but everything will be immutably fixed."

"The Inevitable" is the title of the fifty-sixth sura, which starts out with a vivid description of the last judgment and of the final destiny of the faithful and the unfaithful. "When the inevitable day of judgment shall suddenly come, no soul shall charge the prediction of its coming with falsehood: it will abase some

and exalt others, when the earth shall be shaken with a violent shock ; and the mountains shall be dashed in pieces, and shall become as dust scattered abroad ; and ye shall be separated into three distinct classes : the companions of the right hand (how happy shall the companions of the right hand be !) ; and the companions of the left hand (how miserable shall the companions of the left hand be !) ; and those who have preceded others in the faith shall precede them to paradise. These are they who shall approach near unto God : they shall dwell in gardens of delight : (There shall be many of the former religions ; but few of the last.) Reposing on couches adorned with gold and precious stones ; sitting opposite to one another thereon. Youths which shall continue in their bloom forever shall go round about to attend them, with goblets, and beakers, and a cup of flowing wine ; their heads shall not ache by drinking the same, neither shall their reason be disturbed ; and with fruits of the sorts which they shall choose, and the flesh of birds of the kind which they shall desire. And there shall accompany them fair damsels having large black eyes ; resembling pearls hidden in their shells ; as a reward for that which they shall have wrought. They shall not hear therein any vain discourse, or any charge of sin ; but only the salutation, Peace ! Peace ! . . . And the companions of the left hand (how miserable shall the companions of the left hand be !) shall dwell amidst burning winds and scalding water, under the shade of a black smoke. . . . Ye, O men, who have erred and denied the resurrection as a falsehood, shall surely eat of the fruit of the tree al Zakkum and shall fill your bellies therewith ; and ye shall drink thereon boiling water ; and ye shall drink as a thirsty camel

drinketh. This shall be their entertainment on the day of judgment."

In the fifty-seventh chapter special rewards are promised to those "who shall have contributed and fought in defence of the faith before the taking of Mecca. . . . These shall be superior in degree unto those who shall contribute and fight for the propagation of the faith after the above mentioned success."

Several chapters are then devoted to the treatment of women by their husbands; and some of the petty disagreements of Mohammed with his own wives, God is represented as discussing at length, giving to the prophet a dispensation from the law imposed on other Moslems, especially in regard to the number of his wives and his treatment of them.

Farther on we come upon suras that are decidedly rhapsodic in character, abounding in strong emotion, indicating a high degree of religious excitement. Sura seventy-four begins, "O thou covered, arise and preach and magnify the Lord, and cleanse thy garments; and fly every abomination; and be not liberal in hopes to receive more in return; and patiently wait for thy Lord. When the trumpet shall sound, verily that day shall be a day of distress and uneasiness unto the unbelievers. . . . I will afflict him (the unbeliever) with grievous calamities: for he hath devised and prepared contumelious expressions to ridicule the Koran. May he be cursed: how maliciously hath he prepared the same! and again, may he be cursed"

The following is the conclusion of the eighty-first sura: "Verily, I swear by the stars which are retrograde, which move swiftly, and which hide themselves; and by the night when it cometh on; and by the

morning when it appeareth ; that these are the words of an honorable messenger, endued with strength, of established dignity in the sight of the possessor of the throne, obeyed by the angels under his authority and faithful ; and your companion Mohammed is not distracted. He hath already seen him in the clear horizon : he hath suspected not the secrets revealed unto him. Neither are these the words of an accursed devil. Whither, therefore, are you going ? This is no other than an admonition unto all creatures ; unto him among you who shall be willing to walk uprightly ; but ye shall not will, unless God willeth, the Lord of all creatures."

The fourth from the last sura is a curse upon the uncle of Mohammed, who opposed the establishment of the new religion to the utmost of his power. "The hands of Abu Laheb shall perish and he shall perish. His riches shall not profit him, neither that which he hath gained. He shall go down to be burned into flaming fire ; and his wife also, bearing wood, having on her neck a cord of twisted fibres of a palm-tree" [as fuel for hell.]

The third from the last sura is the shortest in the Koran, and is held in particular veneration by Mohammedans. It is said to be equal in value to a third part of the whole Koran. "Say, God is one God ; the eternal God : he begetteth not and neither is he begotten : and there is not any one like unto him."

Chapters one hundred and thirteen and one hundred and fourteen, the last two, are regarded by Moslems with peculiar favor. "They consider them," says Savary, "as a sovereign specific against magic, luna influences, and the temptations of the evil spirit. They never fail to repeat them evening and morning."

The one hundred and thirteenth chapter runs as follows : "Say, I fly for refuge unto the Lord of the daybreak, that he may deliver me from the mischief of those things which he hath created ; and from the mischief of the night when it cometh on ; and from the mischief of women blowing on knots ; and from the mischief of the envious, when he envieth." And the last chapter of the book is, "Say, I fly for refuge unto the Lord of men ; the king of men ; the God of men, that he may deliver me from the mischief of the whisperer who slyly withdraweth, who whispereth evil suggestions into the breasts of man ; from genii and men."

From this general survey of the Koran it is easy to see why scholars are agreed in dividing the suras into three general classes, according as their contents relate to the history and condition of the author, namely, those delivered during the early part of Mohammed's preaching in Mecca, including those from about the seventy-third chapter to the close of the book ; the middle chapters, which were in all probability delivered during the latter part of his sojourn in Mecca ; and the first part of the book, where the chapters are probably composite in their character, made up of a number of smaller discourses delivered during the later years of his life at Medina.

Mohammed began his career as a prophet in his fortieth year, and continued to send forth his revelations for over twenty years. It is maintained by many of his followers that the earliest sura is the first part of the ninety-sixth, which begins with the words, "Read [from the scroll let down by the angel] in the name of thy Lord, who hath created all things." Others ascribe that honor to the seventy-fourth, the opening verses of which have already been quoted.

Mohammed at the outset did not make any effort to have his utterances preserved. Only after he had become a famous leader in the community did he begin to think about putting his revelations into a permanent form. The entire Koran is so completely the product of Mohammed's personal experiences that it cannot be properly understood without taking into consideration some of the chief events in the history of his life.

All authorities are agreed that he first appeared in Mecca as a prophet about 610 A.D. According to the best traditions he was born in 570, at Mecca, of very poor, but worthy parents, his father belonging to the most powerful of the Arabian tribes of that day, the Koreish, to whom was entrusted as a matter of heredity the guardianship of the Kaaba. This sacred cube-shaped heathen temple contained the famous black stone said to have been given by an angel to Abraham, and was the centre of native religious rites. Mohammed's father died two months before his birth and his mother, for whom he always had the greatest veneration, six years after. Being adopted by his uncle, who was a man of large family with scanty means, he spent his early years in tending sheep, gathering wild berries in the desert, and driving camels. On one occasion he went with his uncle on a trading expedition into Syria, and there met a monk whose discourses greatly influenced his subsequent career. When about twenty-five years of age, having won by the integrity of his conduct the surname of "the faithful," on the recommendation of his uncle he became the business agent of a wealthy widow of Mecca, for whom he made several successful commercial journeys to the countries round about. In a few years he married the widow and proved himself a devoted and faithful husband. Seven children resulted

from this marriage, but his three sons died while very young.

Relieved by his marriage to Khadija from the necessity of constant toil, Mohammed was able to devote his time to the development of his religious sentiments, which had always had a predominating influence over his conduct and thoughts. Every year he retired for long periods to the fastnesses of Mount Hira, near Mecca, and gave himself up to solitary meditation and prayer.

It is no longer claimed by any well-informed scholars that Mohammed independently produced the ideas and doctrines of the Koran. A generation at least before his time the Jews had become numerous in and around Medina. Indeed, the whole northern part of the Arabian peninsula began to be dotted over with Jewish colonists soon after the destruction of Jerusalem. Between them and the natives there had always existed a perfectly free intercourse. Beyond any doubt Mohammed derived nearly all of the stories and a great part of the laws of the Koran from Jewish sources. Christianity, though in a crude and degenerate form, had already penetrated Arabia through Syria and Abyssinia, and he had at least a partial acquaintance with it. The native religion in which he was brought up had long recognized Allah as the highest and universal deity.

According to all authorities, when Mohammed came upon the scene the religious life of Arabia had reached a most deplorable state. Star-worship of every variety made up the religion of the masses, but even this form of religion had ceased to be regarded as of any vital moment. Wine-drinking, petty gambling, sensual love, extortion, and robbery absorbed the time and

energies of the people. The status of the great majority of women was little above that of common prostitutes. Polygamy, as everywhere in the Orient, was the prevailing custom and many Arabs had no less than eight or ten wives, which they could at any time throw out into the street without food or protection, entirely at their option. The habit among the Bedouins of selling their new-born daughters was a general one, and went on generation after generation unrebuked.

A few devout souls here and there, however, were not satisfied with this state of affairs, and Mohammed was one of them. He saw the need of a new religious awakening, and by uniting the three principal religions of his time and country he thought he could produce it. This idea is now considered the key to the Koran. Everywhere in it the Pentateuch and the Psalms are recognized as sacred revelations and so are also the Gospels. Moses and Christ are frequently declared to be genuine prophets. Resignation to the will of Allah, the all-wise and almighty, the chief god of his own tribe and people, is the one supreme duty of man.

Judaism, Christianity, and heathenism all contained for Mohammed important God-given truths. In the Koran he is constantly striving to win over the adherents of each, or else is rebuking them for the non-recognition of his mission. That Mohammed thoroughly believed in himself, at least in the first years of his mission, is no longer questioned. At the outset he was probably only one among a number of ascetics seeking their own salvation rather than that of others. But being possessed of a natural temperament that strongly addicted him to religious excitement, when what he regarded as direct revelation from

God came to him in his ecstatic visions, he was obliged to burst forth upon the community as a prophet.

Although his wife at once accepted his alleged revelations, when he announced to her that the angel Gabriel had appeared to him in the mountain and commanded him to proclaim the name of Allah, most of his relatives scornfully rejected them. For four years he preached in secret to slaves and people of the lowest rank, gaining only a mere handful of followers. Then the call came to go forward and publicly to assail the superstitions of the Meccans. This he did without fear or favor, exhorting them to turn from their idols and their sensuality and worship the only real and true God. The result was that he was obliged to flee from Mecca to Medina to escape assassination. This occurred in 622, and is known as the Hegira, from which all Moslems now reckon time.

The suras of this first period breathe a genuine religious spirit. The great fundamental ideas of the unity of God and the duty of prayer and almsgiving were constantly insisted upon as the vital things for this life and the life to come. But when once established in Medina, the consciousness of power and the rapid advance of the new form of religion under his leadership made him willing to maintain himself by strategy and force and at any cost.

It must be admitted that he was at times deceitful, cunning, and revengeful. In one respect, at least, he used his authority as a prophet to make provision for the flesh, excepting himself from the restrictions regarding women that were imposed upon others, as the Koran explicitly states. In common with his age he believed in signs and omens, and had many other superstitious beliefs. Yet in general we may say that,

judged by the standards of his time, the cause of religion has had few more earnest or sincere devotees. The Koran will always stand as a fitting monument to one of the world's master spirits.

k. Joseph Smith's Book of Mormon.—In the year 1830 there was published at Palmyra, a little village in what was then called the Wilderness of Western New York, the first edition of a bible which has since reached a circulation, it is asserted, of several millions, and has been printed in nearly all the leading languages of our time. For many years missionaries have been sent to all parts of the civilized world to spread abroad a knowledge of its contents, and they never were so active or so numerous as at present.

The book is about the size of the New Testament, and purports to be "The Sacred History of Ancient America from the Earliest Ages After the Flood to the Beginning of the Fifth Century of the Christian Era." The title of the volume is "The Book of Mormon; an account written by the Hand of Mormon upon Plates taken from the Plates of Nephi." The title-page of the first edition also bore the inscription, "Joseph Smith, Jun., Author and Proprietor," but in all subsequent editions this has been changed to, "Translated by Joseph Smith, Jun."

Immediately after the title-page comes the following affidavit, signed by Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, and Martin Harris: "Be it known unto all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people unto whom this work shall come, that we, through the grace of God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, have seen the plates which contain this record, which is a record of the people of Nephi, and also of the Lamanites, their brethren, and also of the people of Jared, who

came from the tower of which hath been spoken ; and we also know that they have been translated by the gift and power of God, for his voice hath declared it unto us ; wherefore we know of a surety that the work is true. And we also testify that we have seen the engravings which are upon the plates ; and they have been shown unto us by the power of God, and not man. And we declare with words of soberness, that an angel of God came down from heaven, and he brought and laid before our eyes, that we beheld and saw the plates, and the engravings thereon ; and we know that it is by the grace of God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, that we beheld and bear record that these things are true ; and it is marvellous in our eyes, nevertheless the voice of the Lord commanded us that we should bear record of it ; wherefore to be obedient unto the commandments of God, we bear testimony of these things. And we know that if we are faithful to Christ, we shall rid our garments of the blood of all men, and be found spotless before the judgment-seat of Christ, and shall dwell with him eternally in the heavens. And the honor be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, which is one God. Amen."

Attached to this affidavit is another, introduced by the use of the same phraseology, signed by four members of the Whitmer family, the father and two brothers of Joseph Smith, Jun., the translator of the work, and Hiram Page, son-in-law of Peter Whitmer, Sen., in which they bear witness that " we have seen and hefted, and know of a surety that the said Smith has got the plates of which we have spoken."

Joseph Smith, Jun., himself thus summarized the contents of the book : " The history of America is un-

folded from its first settlement by a colony that came from the Tower of Babel to the beginning of the fifth century of the Christian Era. We are informed by these records that America, in ancient times, has been inhabited by two distinct races of people. The first were called Jaredites, and came directly from the Tower of Babel. The second race came directly from the city of Jerusalem, about six hundred years before Christ. The Jaredites were destroyed about the time that the Israelites came from Jerusalem. The principal nation of the second race fell in battle toward the close of the fourth century. The remnant are the Indians.

“This book also tells us that our Saviour made his appearance upon this continent after his resurrection; that he planted the gospel here in all its fulness and richness and power and blessing; that they had apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, and evangelists; the same order, the same priesthood, the same ordinances, gifts, powers, and blessing, as were enjoyed on the Eastern Continent; that the people were cut off in consequence of their transgressions; that the last of their prophets who existed among them was commanded to write an abridgment of their prophecies, history, etc., and to hide it up in the earth.”

This so-called Bible of the Western Continent consists of fifteen books, and claims to have been written by authors who were divinely appointed to rule over the people of their day, and to make a record of their doings upon metallic plates prepared for the purpose. The books vary greatly in size. The book of Alma in recent editions of the work is divided into sixty-three chapters, and covers nearly a hundred pages; while the book of Enos has only one chapter, and covers a little over two pages.

The first book in the volume is entitled "The First Book of Nephi, His Reign and Ministry," and has twenty-two chapters. The text is preceded by the following synopsis: "An account of Lehi and his wife, Sariah, and his four sons, being called (beginning at the eldest) Laman, Lemuel, Sam, and Nephi. The Lord warns Lehi to depart out of the land of Jerusalem, because he prophesieth unto the people concerning their iniquity; and they seek to destroy his life. He taketh three days' journey into the wilderness with his family. Nephi taketh his brethren and returns to the land of Jerusalem after the record of the Jews. The account of their sufferings. They take the daughters of Ishmael to wife. They take their families and depart into the wilderness. Their sufferings and afflictions in the wilderness. The course of their travels. They come to the large waters. Nephi's brethren rebelleth against him. He confoundeth them and buildeth a ship. They call the name of the place Bountiful. They cross the large waters into the promised land, etc. This is according to the account of Nephi; or in other words, I, Nephi, wrote this record."

"The large waters" referred to are the Red Sea and the Pacific Ocean. "The promised land" is the western coast of South America.

The very first passages of the first chapter of this book well illustrate the style of all the books, and, except where the ideas of the Old and New Testaments are made use of, the general nature of their contents: "I, Nephi, having been born of goodly parents, therefore I was taught somewhat in all the learning of my father; and having seen many afflictions in the course of my days—nevertheless, having been highly favored of the Lord in all my days; yea, having had a great

knowledge of the goodness and the mysteries of God, therefore I make a record of my proceedings in my days; yea, I make a record in the language of my father, which consists of the learning of the Jews and the language of the Egyptians. And I know that the record that I make is true; and I make it with mine own hand; and I make it according to my knowledge.

“For it came to pass, in the commencement of the first year of the reign of Zedekiah, king of Judah (my father Lehi having dwelt at Jerusalem in all his days), and in that same year there came many prophets, prophesying unto the people, that they must repent, or the great city of Jerusalem must be destroyed. Wherefore, it came to pass that my father Lehi, as he went forth, prayed unto the Lord, yea, even with all his heart, in behalf of his people.

“And it came to pass, as he prayed unto the Lord, there came a pillar of fire and dwelt upon a rock before him; and he saw and heard much; and because of the things which he saw and heard, he did quake and tremble exceedingly.

“And it came to pass that he returned to his own house at Jerusalem; and he cast himself upon his bed, being overcome with the spirit and the things which he had seen; and being thus overcome with the spirit, he was carried away in a vision, even that he saw the heaven open, and he thought he saw God sitting upon his throne, surrounded with numberless concourses of angels in the attitude of singing and praising God.

“And it came to pass that he saw one descending out of the midst of heaven, and he beheld that his lustre was above that of the sun at noonday; and he also saw twelve others following him, and their brightness did exceed that of the stars in the firmament; and

they came down and went forth upon the face of the earth ; and the first came and stood before my father, and he gave him a book, and bade him that he should read.

“ And it came to pass, that, as he read, he was filled with the spirit of the Lord, and he read saying, Wo, wo unto Jerusalem ! for I have seen thy abominations,” etc.

In chapter ii. we have a description of several appearances of the Virgin Mary to Nephi. He also saw, he affirms, “ the Redeemer of the world, of whom my father had spoken ; and I also beheld the prophet who should prepare the way before him. And the Lamb of God went forth and was baptized of him ; and after he was baptized, I beheld the heavens open, and the Holy Ghost came down out of heaven and abode upon him in the form of a dove.” Many other events in the life of Jesus are here referred to including the crucifixion.

Chapter xiii. opens with a covert attack upon the Church of Rome. “ And it came to pass that I saw among the nations of the Gentiles the foundation of a great church. And the angel said unto me, Behold the foundation of a church, which is most abominable above all other churches, which slayeth the saints of God, yea, and tortureth them and bindeth down and yoketh them with a yoke of iron, and bringeth them down into captivity. And it came to pass that I beheld this great and abominable church ; and I saw the devil that he was the foundation of it. And I also saw gold, and silver, and silks, and scarlets, and fine-twined linen, and all manner of precious clothing ; and I saw many harlots.

“ And the angel spake unto me, saying, Behold the gold, and silver, and the silks, and the scarlets, and

the fine-twined linen, and the precious clothing, and the harlots, and the desires of this great and abominable church," etc.

Many other chapters contain tirades on the same theme and, for the most part, the language of the book of Revelation is employed to express them. These views regarding the Roman Catholic Church were commonly held at the time of the appearance of the Book of Mormon throughout the region of Western New York.

At the close of chapter xviii. Nephi describes the mutiny that occurred on the ship as they were crossing "the large waters." For his brothers bound him and purposed to throw him overboard. But when they found that in the tempest that arose they could not steer the ship without him, they loosed him and allowed him again to assume command.

"I took the compass" he says, "and it did work whither I desired it. And it came to pass that I prayed unto the Lord; and after I had prayed, the winds did cease, and the storm did cease, and there was a great calm. And it came to pass that I, Nephi, did guide the ship, that we sailed again towards the promised land. And it came to pass that after we had sailed for the space of many days, we did arrive to the promised land, and we went forth upon the land, and did pitch our tents; and we did call it the promised land."

Then follows a vivid description of the marvellous plenty of the country. Cows and oxen and horses existed there in great abundance. "And we did find all manner of ore, both of gold, and of silver, and of copper." Out of the ore plates were made which upon was engraved the record of the people, in particular the visions and prophecies of Nephi. The rest of this

first book of Nephi is taken up with an account of what was put upon these plates. The principal part of it consists of literal extracts from the prophecy of Isaiah as recorded in the Old Testament, though no acknowledgment is made of this fact.

The second book of Nephi is much like the first in subject-matter. Leaving out the visions and prophecies in it, we have an account of the death of Lehi, of the rebellion of Nephi's brethren against him, the warnings of the Lord to Nephi to depart into the wilderness, and his various experiences after getting there. The creation of the world and the fall of Adam as we have it in Genesis is described in the second chapter.

The book of Jacob comes next. This was written by a younger brother of Nephi. For Lehi had two sons, Jacob and Joseph, born to him just before the family embarked upon the ship to cross "the large waters" for the promised land. Both these sons grew up to be "prophets and priests unto God," and it was through this Joseph that a "righteous branch" was preserved from the Joseph of Egypt to Joseph Smith, Jun., the translator of the Book of Mormon and the divinely appointed head of the Church of Christ in modern times. Jacob succeeded to the rule after the death of Nephi and added his own plates to those of Nephi.

The book of Jacob abounds in vigorous denunciation, not only of pride and vainglory, but especially of polygamy. A "sore curse even unto destruction" is called down upon all who practise it. "Behold David and Solomon," it says, "truly had many wives and concubines, which thing was abominable before me, saith the Lord; wherefore, thus saith the Lord, I have led this people forth out of the land of Jerusalem, by

the power of mine arm, that I might raise up unto me a righteous branch from the fruit of the loins of Joseph. Wherefore, I, the Lord God, will not suffer that this people shall do like unto them of old. Wherefore my brethren, hear me, and harken to the word of the Lord ; for there shall not any man among you have save it be one wife ; and concubines he shall have none ; for, I, the Lord God, delighteth in the chastity of women. And whoredoms are an abomination before me ; thus saith the Lord of Hosts. Wherefore, this people shall keep my commandments, saith the Lord of Hosts ; or cursed be the land for their sakes." The same views are expressed in the book of Mosiah and in the book of Ether.

Jacob, when he comes to die, hands over the plates to his son Enos, who writes the next book. In it he tells us of the wrestles he had with God before he received a remission of his sins. Then he describes his own efforts and those of his people to bring the wicked followers of his uncle Laman, who had already had their white skins changed to copper-red because of their sins, back to the true faith.

" But," he says, " our labors were vain ; their hatred was fixed, and they were led by their evil nature that they became wild, and ferocious, and a blood-thirsty people ; full of idolatry and filthiness, feeding upon beasts of prey ; dwelling in tents, and wandering about in the wilderness with a short skin girdle about their loins and their heads shaven ; and their skill was in their bow, and in the cimeter, and the axe. And many of them did eat nothing save it was raw meat ; and they were continually seeking to destroy us." Here we have a very matter-of-fact description of the Indians of Western New York in the days of Joseph

Smith. Many references to their life and habits occur in other parts of the work.

The book of Amni tells us how the Nephites came to discover the people of Zarahemla, who "came out of Jerusalem at the time that Zedekiah, King of Judah, was carried away captive into Babylon." They cast their lot with the followers of Nephi under the rule of King Mosiah. From the engravings on a large stone found in Zarahemla it is discovered that the land had once been occupied by one Cariantumr whose "first parents came out from the tower at the time the Lord confounded the languages of the people." Owing to his disobedience of the commandments of the Lord and the wickedness of his people, they had all been cut off "and their bones lay scattered in the land northward." This was a common view in Western New York of the origin of the many mounds containing human relics to be found in that part of the country.

The book of Alma, the longest in this bible, devotes itself chiefly to the secular affairs of the people. Great battles and massacres are described in it. The coming of Christ is predicted, but this is opposed by one Korihor, who uses arguments that were probably taken from Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason*. The result is that he is struck dumb for his blasphemy.

Near the middle of the book we have several exhortations to repentance which show how familiar the writer was with the methods of the old-time Methodist camp-meeting. Amulek, the last speaker at such a gathering, closes his harangue as follows: "Therefore may God grant unto you, my brethren, that ye may begin to exercise your faith unto repentance, that ye begin to call upon His holy name, that He would have mercy upon you; yea, cry unto Him for mercy; for He is

mighty to save ; yea, humble yourselves, and continue in prayer unto Him ; cry unto Him when you are in your fields ; yea, over all your flocks ; cry unto Him in your houses, yea, over all your household, both morning, midday, and evening ; yea, cry unto Him against the power of your enemies ; yea, cry unto Him against the Devil, who is an enemy to all righteousness. And now as I said unto you before, as ye have had so many witnesses, therefore I beseech of you, that ye do not procrastinate the day of your repentance until the end ; for after this day of life, which is given unto us to prepare for eternity, behold, if we do not improve our time while in this life, then cometh the night of darkness, wherein there can be no labor performed. Ye cannot say, when ye are brought to that awful crisis, that I will repent, that I will return to my God. Nay, ye cannot say this ; for that same spirit which doth possess your bodies at the time that ye go out of life, that same spirit will have power to possess your body in that eternal world."

In the book of Helaman we have the first of the attacks upon Free Masonry to be found in the Book of Mormon. It expresses the strong antipathy to the organization that prevailed in Western New York at the time the book appeared, owing to the abduction and alleged murder in 1826 of one William Morgan, a mechanic of Batavia, by some of the Masonic fraternity. The reason for the act, it was alleged, was the fact that Morgan was preparing a book to divulge the secrets of the order.

The book of Nephi III., besides giving an account of the secular events of this reign, describes the wonderful phenomena that accompanied the birth of Christ and his visit to the Nephites after the Resurrection. He

not only preached to them the Sermon on the Mount, but also many of his other discourses recorded in the gospels. He broke bread among them and performed many of the same miracles that are described at length in the New Testament. He chose twelve apostles, who taught the multitude and carried on the work of spreading the gospel. Things proceeded in the same manner as the New Testament records show they did in Palestine.

In the book of Mormon, one of the last books in this volume, and the one that gives name to the entire collection, we are told how in the year 384 A.D., just before a great battle in the land of Cumorah, in which an army of 230,000 Nephites was slain and the race practically annihilated, "I [Mormon] made this record out of the plates of Nephi and hid up in the hill of Cumorah all the records which had been entrusted to me by the hand of the Lord, save it were these few plates which I gave to my son Moroni." It was these golden plates that Joseph Smith alleges he, on September 22, 1827, under the direction of an angel, dug up on the top of what is now known as Mormon Hill, in the township of Manchester, N. Y., about four miles from the village of Palmyra.

The plates, as he describes them, were about eight inches long and seven wide, and were connected together by rings so as to form a volume about six inches thick. Hieroglyphic characters in an unknown language, which Smith declared to be Reformed Egyptian, covered both sides of the plates. By the aid of two stones, joined together into a sort of spectacles, which he found in the box, and called Urim and Thummim, he affirms that he was able to decipher the record on the plates and translate it into English.

This was taken down by an amanuensis, and makes the present text of the Book of Mormon.

Smith tells us that "multitudes" tried to get the plates away from him, but he held on to them. As fast as he translated them he handed them back to the angel, who keeps them in a box with other plates that have not yet been unsealed.

The 22d of September, 1827, was not, according to Smith, the first time that he had known of the existence of these plates. In his autobiography published in the *Millennial Star* at Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1838, he affirms that on the night of September 21, 1823, while he was praying to God for the forgiveness of his sins, his room suddenly became illuminated with a great light. A person clothed in a robe of exquisite whiteness called him by name and announced himself to be a messenger sent from God. Then, as Smith describes it, the angel told him where there was a book deposited, written upon golden plates, giving an account of the former inhabitants of this continent and the source from whence they sprang. He also said that the fulness of the Everlasting Gospel was contained in it, as delivered by the Saviour to the ancient inhabitants. During the same vision the angel described to him the "two stones in a silver bow" that were deposited with the plates, the possession of which "constituted seers" in ancient times. By the use of these stones God would enable him to read what was engraved upon the plates and translate it into English.

Under the direction of the angel he went at once to the hill and found the big stone in the hollow of which the plates were concealed. But he made no effort to gain possession of them as the angel informed him that the time for bringing them out had not yet arrived,

neither would till four years from that time. But he was told to come every year to the spot "until the time should come for obtaining the plates."

Joseph Smith's father soon after the publication of the Book of Mormon gave out a vivid description of the way in which the plates were finally procured and the account was confirmed by his mother in her *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith and his Progenitors*, published some years later. The father says in this description that "He [Joseph] procured a horse and light wagon with a chest and pillow case, and proceeded punctually with his wife to find the hidden treasure. When they had gone as far as they could with the wagon, Joseph took the pillow case and started for the rock. Upon passing a fence a host of devils began to screech and scream, and make all sorts of hideous yells, for the purpose of terrifying him and preventing the attainment of his object; but Joseph was courageous and pursued his way in spite of them."

On arriving at the rock, "with the aid of superhuman power" he pried up the lid and secured the first or uppermost article, "putting it carefully into the pillow case before laying it down." Immediately the lid fell back into its original position and an angel warned him not to seek for anything more at the present time. He was also warned not to allow any one to touch the article he had "for if they did, they would be knocked down by some superhuman power." On getting back to the fence Joseph was met by another host of devils who yelled and shrieked much louder than the former, and one of them struck him a blow on the side "where a black and blue spot remained three or four days." When Joseph reached home with the article "I

weighed it," says his father, "and it weighed thirty pounds."

As soon as the Book of Mormon was published it attracted converts and Smith immediately organized them into the Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints, placing himself at their head. At the time of his death at Carthage, Illinois, where he and his brother Hyram were assassinated by a mob in June, 1844, he had founded a New Jerusalem of some fifteen thousand souls at Nauvoo on the banks of the Mississippi, and was universally recognized by his followers as the apostle and prophet of God. Brigham Young correctly expressed the position of the whole Mormon Church when he said of him shortly after his death: "Every spirit that confesses that Joseph Smith is a prophet, that he lived and died a prophet, and that the Book of Mormon is true, is of God, and every spirit that does not is of Antichrist."

The Latter Day Saints have always believed and believe to-day that Smith obtained the plates in the manner already described, and that the Book of Mormon is of a purely divine origin. Of those who do not accept this view of the matter some hold that the work is the joint product of a Congregational minister once living at New Salem, Ohio, by the name of Solomon Spaulding, who supplied the historical part, and a Baptist minister by the name of Sidney Rigdon, who filled in the religious part and brought out the book under Joseph Smith's name and with his sanction. This opinion is strongly advocated by W. A. Linn in his exhaustive work on the *Story of the Mormons from the Date of their Origin to the Year 1901*.

In spite of all that has been written in support of this view by Linn and others, nobody has yet been

able to show that Smith ever heard of Spaulding or his alleged novel about the origin of the American Indians. No tangible proof of the existence of such a novel was forthcoming till 1885, when President Fairchild, of Oberlin College, claimed that he had accidentally discovered the manuscript of it in the library of a friend in Honolulu. He himself admits, however, that there is little or no resemblance between Spaulding's story entitled *Manuscript Found* and the Book of Mormon either in style or subject-matter, except that they both have considerable to say about the Ten Lost Tribes. Dr. Hurlburt, in whose house the manuscript was found, says of it: "I should as soon think the Book of Revelation was written by the author of *Don Quixote*, as that the writer of this manuscript was the author of the Book of Mormon." The only similarity that he was able to find between them was that they both claim to have been dug up out of the ground.

As to Sidney Rigdon the evidence is good that he had only the slightest acquaintance with Smith until after the establishment of the Church of Latter Day Saints, when he became one of his converts.

The more rational view of the origin of the Book of Mormon, and the one now held by almost all competent and unprejudiced investigators, is well expressed by Dr. I. W. Riley in his extremely able work on *The Founder of Mormonism*, when he says: "Joseph Smith's record of the Indians is a product indigenous to the New York 'Wilderness,' and the authentic work of the 'author and proprietor.' Outwardly, it reflects the local color of Palmyra and Manchester, inwardly its complex of thought is a replica of Smith's muddled brain."

In other words, barring out the choicest parts of

the Old Testament and the copious extracts from the gospels that we find in the book, the history of Joseph Smith before the work appeared and his history after show beyond reasonable doubt that he produced it by the use of his own natural powers. The very first words of the first chapter reveal the fact that the acts of Nephi are the acts of Joseph, and so on to the closing passages of the last chapter.

The conversion of Joseph Smith occurred near Palmyra in 1820, when he was in his fifteenth year. He had previously been noted "only for his indolent and vagabondish character, and his habits of exaggeration and untruthfulness." His father was a shiftless farmer and root-digger, who had wandered from Sharon, Vermont, where Joseph was born December 23, 1805, over into Ontario County, New York, and there taken up a land claim. Both Joseph's father and mother were strong believers in heavenly visions, faith cures, witchcraft, and demoniacal possessions. The son had grown up in the atmosphere of these ideas, and he took to them as to his natural breath. Besides this, in his youth he was given to epileptic seizures, and many times he seriously injured himself while in this state. On several occasions he twisted his limbs out of joint and severely bruised his body, having at the time no consciousness of the fact.

He grew up in a most extraordinary religious environment. Western New York in his boyhood was swept by wave after wave of religious excitement, and later came to be generally known as the Burnt District. A multitude of contending sects existed on every hand. Near Ithaca there were seven different kinds of Baptists, and during Smith's stay in Palmyra four schisms occurred among the Methodists—the sect to

ward which he was himself more particularly inclined. At Canandaigua, only ten miles from his home, the Fox sisters by their extraordinary rapping seances dumbfounded their auditors and laid the foundations of modern spiritualism. William Miller at Rochester had already successfully established the sect of Second Adventists. Jemima Wilkinson, who claimed to have been raised from the dead to preach the gospel and to be able to work miracles, had purchased 14,000 acres of land in Yates County and established a colony there of her followers.

What wonder that young Smith, who had had remarkable experiences of his own, early began to meditate upon the ways and means of carrying out some similar project. He was constantly having visions, and his conversion occurred in one of them. This he describes as follows: "After I had retired into a place where I had previously designed to go, having looked around me and finding myself alone, I kneeled down and began to offer up the desires of my heart unto God. I had scarcely done so, when immediately I was seized upon by some power which entirely overcame me, and had such astonishing influence over me as to bind my tongue so that I could not speak.

"Thick darkness gathered around me, and it seemed to me for a time as if I was doomed to sudden destruction. But exerting all my powers to call upon God to deliver me out of the power of this enemy which had seized upon me, and at the very moment when I was ready to sink into despair and abandon myself to destruction, not to an imaginary ruin, but to the power of some actual being from the unseen world, who had such a marvellous power as I had never before felt in any being. Just at this moment of great alarm, I saw

a pillar of light exactly over my head, above the brightness of the sun, which descended gradually until it fell upon me. It no sooner appeared than I found myself delivered from the enemy which held me bound. When the light rested upon me, I saw two personages whose brightness and glory defy all description, standing above me in the air. One of them spake unto me, . . . When I came to myself again I found myself lying on my back looking up into heaven."

In the second of his recorded visions, the one of September 21, 1823, in which he was told about the existence of the plates, he affirms that at midnight, while he was engaged in "prayer and supplication to Almighty God for forgiveness of all his sins," the room became "lighter than at noonday," and a heavenly messenger came to his bedside and described the plates so vividly "that I could see the place where the plates were deposited, and that so clearly and distinctly, that I knew the place again when I visited it." This vision was repeated three times the same night and many times afterwards.

In addition he was repeatedly told in these early visions that none of the existing religious denominations were acknowledged of God as his church and kingdom. "I was expressly commanded," he says, "to go not after them; at the same time receiving a promise that the fulness of the gospel should at some future time be made known unto me." Can it be wondered at under the circumstances that he set himself to work to create some sort of a consistent whole out of these and similar experiences, making use of all other available data that he had at his command?

It is true that Smith lived in the backwoods and had little schooling, but he still was alive to what was

going on in the community and had access to a few inexpensive books that were in common circulation. Besides the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments he undoubtedly had the New England Primer, which nearly every child of that period thumbed from cover to cover and was supposed to know almost by heart. It contained the Westminster Confession of Faith, which, as Dr. Riley has shown, is closely paralleled in the speech of Nephi to his brethren. Then, as has already been pointed out, he probably was more or less familiar with Paine's *Age of Reason*. Beyond all question he had every opportunity to acquaint himself by reading or by hearsay with the creeds and disciplines of the numerous sects that were laboring to make converts in that region.

Smith's Lamanites actually have the very same beliefs that existed in his own locality. In harmony with his times he takes it for granted that the primitive red men had the idea of one great Spirit and the various notions that flow from it. The modern student of the subject would not agree with this position. For he maintains that such beliefs arose among these people only after long familiarity with the doctrines of Christianity.

The theory that the Indians were the remnant of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel was an idea current almost from the first settlement of the country. The early Spanish priests identified the natives with them, and so did a Jewish rabbi as early as 1650. John Eliot, "the Apostle to the Indians in Massachusetts," wrote an essay in favor of it. Roger Williams, William Penn, and Jonathan Edwards advocated this view, and Smith must have been familiar with it from early boyhood.

But the most striking thing in Smith's surroundings

was the large number of mysterious aboriginal remains that abounded on every hand. "Along the shores of Lake Ontario there was a series of ancient earthworks, entrenched hills, and occasional mounds or tumuli." Human bones and relics had been found on an embankment in Canandaigua. Livingston County had a big artificial ditch of sixteen acres, and Seneca County had ancient caches full of art relics and fragments of pottery. Near Geneva were the remains of a so-called Indian castle, and in the vicinity of Smith's home spear-heads and hatchets had been dug up in abundance.

In early youth Smith had been a money digger, and Indian mounds were the most attractive and profitable places in which to search for hidden treasures. As Dr. Riley has well said, "He [Smith] mixed up what he knew about living Indians with what he could gather about dead ones, and the amalgam was the angel Moroni's 'brief sketch concerning the aboriginal inhabitants of this country.'"

That Smith was capable of composing the Book of Mormon from the material at his disposal is also seen by comparing its style and matter with other works that he unquestionably produced. No sooner had he completed his labors on the Book of Mormon than he went to work on the Visions of Moses, and six months later he brought out the Writings of Moses. Later he completed a Revised Translation of the Old and New Testaments. In 1842, as the editor of *Times and Seasons*, he published a "Translation of Some Ancient Records, that have fallen into our hands from the Catacombs of Egypt, the Writings of Abraham while he was in Egypt, called the Book of Abraham, written by his own hand upon Papyrus." This was a

“book” that he had made up from the hieroglyphics found in the casings of some Egyptian mummies that he had persuaded the church to buy for him of a showman passing through the place. From the day he assumed the title of “Prophet, Seer, and Revelator” at the age of eighteen to the end of his career he was constantly claiming to receive direct communications from the Almighty on almost every conceivable subject. These “revelations” were collected together into what he called the Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of the Latter Day Saints.

In all of these productions we have unmistakable evidence from the style of composition and general subject-matter that their author is identical with the writer of the Book of Mormon and of the affidavits that were signed by the eleven witnesses regarding the plates upon which it was engraved.

Before the book was completed Smith began to make preparations for carrying out the idea that he was the lineal descendant of Joseph, the prime minister of ancient Egypt, and the divinely appointed head of all Latter Day Saints. On May 15, 1829, he took Cowdery, his amanuensis, with him into the woods and earnestly besought the Lord to inform him about how to carry out the baptism mentioned in the plates. Speedily John the Baptist, he says, appeared to them in a cloud of light, “and having laid his hands upon us, he ordained us, saying unto us: ‘Upon you, my fellow-servants, in the name of the Messiah, I confer the priesthood of Aaron, which holds the keys of the ministering angels, and of the Gospel of repentance, and of baptism by immersion for the remission of sins.’”

Later he received from Peter, James, and John, he

asserts, "the power of laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost," thus supplanting even the bishops of the Roman Church, who get their power through a succession of popes and not direct from heaven.

When Smith wanted anything done he got a revelation for it just as he thought was the custom of all prophets. He was often in such a state of mind that he could not distinguish between subjective illusions and objective realities. It seems quite impossible, therefore, in his case to draw the line between self-deception and conscious duplicity.

His remarkable success in attracting followers, over many of whom he exerted a strong hypnotic influence, was attended not only with a growing sensualism which ultimately led to his secret adoption of polygamy, but also developed a colossal egotism which surpassed all bounds. He soon came to think and talk of himself, says Dr. Riley, as "the smartest man in America," and fully equal to any conceivable position or task.

In 1843 he went to Washington and presented to President Van Buren a bill for \$1,381,044.55½ to compensate himself for the damages to his property and character that he had received from the United States. As Congress that winter did not make the necessary appropriation to pay it, he had his followers nominate himself for President. One of his last addresses was entitled, "Views of the Powers and Policy of the Government of the United States," in which there are quotations not only in English, but also in Italian, Dutch, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Chaldee, so introduced as to convey the impression that it was a matter of utter indifference to him in what language he chose to express his thoughts.

Josiah Quincy tells us in his *Figures of the Past* that when he and Charles Francis Adams visited the Mormon colony at Nauvoo in 1843, Smith explained to them the inscription on his Egyptian mummy by saying : " That is the handwriting of Abraham, the Father of the Faithful. This is the autograph of Moses, and these lines were written by his brother Aaron. Here we have the earliest account of the creation, from which Moses composed the book of Genesis."

Smith's own written assertion concerning himself is : " I know more than all the world put together. . . . I cut the Gordian knot of powers, and I solve mathematical problems of universities with truth, diamond truth, and God is my right-hand man."

When we consider what a conglomeration of ideas the Book of Mormon really is and Joseph Smith's history before and after its appearance ; when we recall the fact that it was nearly seven years from the first vision of the plates to the actual publication of the book, and that during a large part of this time, at least, he was cogitating upon its contents, it seems wholly unnecessary to assume that the work was beyond his natural powers.

The influence that the book has had and still has over many minds lies not only in the descriptions of the marvellous that abound in it, but also in the great and vital truths the author has incorporated in the body of the work taken literally from such parts of the Old and New Testaments as the prophecies of Isaiah and the discourses of Jesus.

1. Mrs. Eddy and "Science and Health."—Another book that has recently been exalted to the dignity of a bible by its devotees is Mrs. Mary Baker G. Eddy's work entitled *Science and Health, with Key*

to the *Scriptures*, the first edition of which was published in Lynn, Mass., in 1875.

As the founder of the sect of Christian Scientists and the pastor of its Mother Church, Mrs. Eddy made not long ago the following announcement :

"Humbly, and as I believe, divinely directed, I hereby ordain the Bible, and *Science and Health*, with *Key to the Scriptures*, to be hereafter the only Pastor of the Church of Christ, Scientist, throughout our land and in other lands.

"From this date, the Sunday services of our denomination shall be conducted by Readers, in lieu of pastors. Each church, or society formed for Sunday worship, shall elect two Readers : a male, and a female. One of these individuals shall open the meeting by reading the hymns, and chapter (or portion of the chapter) in the Bible, lead in silent prayer, and repeat in concert with the congregation the Lord's Prayer. . . . The First Reader shall read from my Book, *Science and Health*, with *Key to the Scriptures*, alternately in response to the congregation, the Spiritual interpretation of the Lord's Prayer ; also shall read all the selections from *Science and Health* referred to in the Sunday Lessons. The Reader of the *Scriptures* shall name, at each reading, the book, chapter, and verses. The Reader of *Science and Health*, with *Key to the Scriptures*, shall commence by announcing the full title of this book, with the name of its author, and add in the announcement the Christian Science text-book."

At the same time Mrs. Eddy prescribed that "this form shall also be observed at the Communion service." And when she arranged a monthly service for the children, she desired that "a sermon shall be preached to

the children, from selections taken from the Scriptures and Science and Health, especially adapted to the occasion, and read after the manner of the Sunday service."

In prescribing the duties of those who are authorized by her to teach Christian Science, she says, "they shall steadily and patiently strive to educate their students in conformity to the unerring wisdom and love of God, and shall enjoin upon them habitually to study His revealed word, the Scriptures, and Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures." Thus we see that whenever Christian Scientists meet together for worship or instruction, the Bible and Science and Health are put by their leader upon equal terms. The objection made by some of her followers that this is not done cannot be allowed.

In August, 1906, Mrs. Eddy's book had already reached the 434th edition of one thousand copies each, according to the reports of the Society having the publication in charge, 77,000 copies of the work having been sold the previous year. New editions of the work are constantly being issued to meet the increasing demand. At one time the book was published in two volumes, probably in imitation of the Old and New Testaments, but of late it has appeared in one volume, often in heavy Oxford India bible paper. It now consists of about 600 pages. A concordance is published to accompany it of about the same size and price as the book itself.

The different editions of Science and Health vary greatly in the arrangement of the chapters. There is little or no logical connection between them, and it was probably never intended that there should be any. Each chapter easily stands alone by itself, and each

chapter sets forth by constant reiteration Mrs. Eddy's fundamental ideas. In many of the later editions the first chapter is entitled Prayer, but some of the earlier editions open with the chapter on The Science of Being, which begins as follows :

" In the year 1866 I discovered metaphysical healing, and named it Christian Science. The Principle thereof is divine and apodictical, governing all, and it reveals the grand verity that one erring mind controlling another (through whatever medium) is not Science governed by God, the unerring Mind.

" When apparently near the confines of the death valley, I learned certain truths : that all real being is the Divine Mind and idea ; that the Science of Divine Mind demonstrates that Life, Truth, and Love are all-powerful and ever-present ; that the opposite of Science and Truth, named Error, is the false supposition of a false sense. This sense is, and involves a belief in, matter that shuts out the true sense of Spirit. The great facts of omnipotence and omnipresence, of Spirit possessing all powers and filling all space,—these facts contradicted forever, to my understanding, the notion that matter can be actual."

In this passage Mrs. Eddy describes how she came to discover what she claims to be the way in which Christ regarded this universe, and the ultimate principle upon which he based all of his labors for the elevation of men. This ultimate principle, she affirms, is the truth that the Divine Mind and its ideas are the only actualities. Hence, every one who holds that the knowledge of Christ is valid knowledge, as she does, is a Christian Scientist, and must maintain that matter in all its forms has no reality. Its alleged existence is an illusion of the senses. Sin, sickness, and death, not

being the ideas of the Divine Mind, cannot have any reality. They are simply the false ideas of our mortal minds and are to be banished from our thoughts forever.

Mrs. Eddy claims to have received these truths direct from Christ. "No human tongue or pen," she says, "has suggested the contents of Science and Health, nor can tongue or pen overthrow it. Whatever men may now think of it, its truths will remain for the Christ-inspired to discern and follow."

Jesus, wherever he went, says Mrs. Eddy, "demonstrated the power of the Divine Science to heal mortal minds and bodies." And it is the greatest need of this age that his disciples should literally follow his command, "Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse the lepers, cast out demons." This injunction is stamped on the cover of every copy of Science and Health as giving the keynote of its entire contents.

These views are reiterated again and again throughout this chapter. Only a page or two beyond the passage first quoted we read: "The only realities are the Divine Mind and its ideas." "Sin, sickness, and death are comprised in a belief in matter." "Because Spirit is real and harmonious, everything inharmonious—sin, sickness, death—is the opposite of Spirit, and must be the contradiction of reality, must be unreal."

"Nothing hygienic," says Mrs. Eddy, "can exceed the healing power of mind. By mind alone I have prevented disease, preserved and restored health, healed organic as well as acute ailments in their severest forms, elongated shortened limbs, relaxed rigid muscles, restored decaying bones to healthy conditions, brought back the lost substances of the lungs and caused them to resume their proper functions."

A little farther on, Mrs. Eddy describes what she means by "mortal mind": "Usage classifies both evil and good together as mind; therefore, to be understood, I will call sick and sinful humanity mortal mind,—meaning by this term, the flesh that is opposed to Spirit, human error and evil in contradistinction to Goodness and Truth. Matter is the primitive belief of mortal mind, that has no cognizance of Spirit. To mortal mind substance is matter and evil is good."

"Understanding spiritual law, and knowing there is no law of matter, Jesus said: 'These signs shall follow them that believe: they shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them. They shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover.' Jesus' promise was perpetual. Had it been given only to his immediate disciples, the Scriptural passage would read *you*, not *them*."

In the chapter on Physiology, Mrs. Eddy affirms that "Anatomy, physiology, treatises on health,—sustained by whatever is termed material law,—are the husbandmen of sickness and disease. It is proverbial that as long as you read medical works you will be sick." "Because Science is at war with physics, even as Truth is at war with error, the old schools will oppose it. When there were fewer doctors, and less thought was given to sanitary subjects, there were better constitutions and less disease. In olden times whoever heard of dyspepsia, cerebro-spinal meningitis, hay-fever, and rose-cold?"

"What an abuse of nature to say that a rose, the smile of God, can produce suffering. The joy of its presence, its beauty and modesty, should uplift the thought and destroy any possible fever. It is profane to fancy that the sweetness of clover and breath of

new-mown hay may cause, like snuff, sneezing and nasal pangs."

"The primitive privilege, to take no thought about food, left the stomach and bowels free to act in obedience to nature, and gave the gospel a chance to be seen in its glorious effects upon the body. A ghostly array of diseases was not kept before the imagination. Fewer books on digestion, and more 'sermons in stone and good in everything' gave better health and greater longevity to our forefathers. When the mechanism of the human mind goes on undisturbed by fear, selfishness, or malice, disease cannot enter and gain a foothold."

"Shall a regular practitioner," continues Mrs. Eddy, "treat all the cases of organic disease, and the Christian Scientist lay his hand only on hysteria, hypochondria, or hallucination? One disease is no more real than another. All disease is the result of hallucination, and can carry its ill effects no further than mortal mind maps out. Facts are stubborn things. Christian Science finds the decided type of acute disease, however severe, quite as ready to yield as the less distinct type and chronic forms of disease. It handles the most malignant contagion with perfect assurance."

"You can even educate a healthy horse so far in physiology that he will take cold without his blanket; whereas the wild animal, left to his instincts, sniffs the wind with delight. Epizoötics is an evolved ailment, that a natural horse never has."

"I have discerned disease in the human mind, and recognized the patient's fear of it, many weeks before the so-called disease made its appearance in the body. Disease being a belief,—a latent creation of mind, be-

fore it appears as matter, —I am never mistaken in my scientific diagnosis of disease."

"We walk in the footsteps of Truth and Love by following the example of our Master, and having the understanding of metaphysics. Christianity is its basis; and physiology, that pins our trust to matter instead of God, is directly opposed to it." "We are Christian Scientists only as we quit our hold upon material things, and grasp the spiritual,—until we have left all for Christ."

In the chapter on Imposition and Demonstration Mrs. Eddy says: "Let us rid ourselves of the belief that man is a separate intelligence from God, and obey the unerring principle of Life and Love. Jesus acted boldly against the accredited evidence of the senses, against Pharisaical creeds and practices. He refuted all opponents with his healing power. We never read that Jesus made a diagnosis of a disease, in order to discover some means of healing it. He never asked if it were acute or chronic. He never recommended attention to laws of health, never gave drugs, never prayed to know if God were willing that man should live. He understood man to be an immortal, whose life is in God,—not that man has two lives, one to be destroyed and the other to be made indestructible."

"Jesus established his church, and maintained his mission, on the basis of Christian healing. He taught his followers that his religion had a Principle that could cast out errors, and heal both the sick and the sinful. He claimed no intelligence, action, or life separate from God. Despite the persecutions this brought upon him, he used his divine power to save men both bodily and spiritually." "As in Jesus' days, tyranny and pride need to be whipped out of

the Temple, while humility and Divine Science are welcomed in."

"The Man of Sorrows best understood the nothingness of material life and intelligence, and the mighty actuality of all-inclusive Mind. These are the two cardinal points of Mind-healing, or Christian Science. The highest earthly representative of God, speaking of human ability to reflect divine power, prophetically said to his disciples, 'The works that I do shall ye do also.'"

The following extracts from the chapter on Healing and Teaching give a fair illustration of its general contents :

"Fear is the foundation of all disease." "Remember that all is Mind. You are only seeing and feeling a belief, whether it be cancer, deformity, consumption, or fracture that you deal with." "Sickness is a dream from which the patient needs to be awakened." "Instruct the sick that they are not helpless victims ; but that if they only know how, they can resist disease and ward it off, just as positively as they can a temptation to sin. Instead of blind and calm submission to incipient or advanced stages of disease, rise in rebellion against them."

"The depraved appetite for alcoholic drinks, tobacco, tea, coffee, opium, is destroyed only by the mastery of Mind over body." "Puffing the obnoxious fumes of tobacco, or chewing a leaf naturally attractive to no animal except to a loathsome worm, is self-evident error." "Man's enslavement to the most relentless masters—passion, appetite, or malice—is conquered only by a mighty struggle. . . . Here Christian Science is the sovereign panacea, giving to the weakness of mortal mind, strength from the immortal and

omnipotent Mind, lifting humanity above itself, into purer desires,—even into moral power and good will to man."

"We must have faith in all the sayings of our Master, though they are not included in the teachings of the schools, and not understood generally by our instructors in morality. Jesus said (John viii. 52), 'If a man keep my sayings, he shall never taste of death.' " "If man is never to overcome death, why do the Scriptures say, 'The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death'?" "Sin brought death, and death will disappear with sin. Man is immortal, and the body cannot die, because it has no life of its own. The illusions named death, sickness, and sin are all that can be destroyed."

In later editions of *Science and Health* the chapter on Healing and Practice is somewhat enlarged, and has the title of *Christian Science Practice*. Among the added instructions Mrs. Eddy gives to her students in it we have the following: "Until the advancing age admits the efficacy and supremacy of Mind, it is better to leave the adjustment of broken bones and dislocations to the fingers of a surgeon, while you confine yourself chiefly to mental reconstruction, and the prevention of inflammation or protracted confinement. Christian Science is always the most skilful surgeon, but surgery is the branch of its healing which will be last demonstrated. However, it is but just to say that the author has already in her possession well-authenticated records of the cure, by herself and her students, through mental surgery alone, of dislocated joints and spinal vertebræ."

The last chapter in many editions of *Science and Health* is entitled *Glossary*, in which is given the

spiritual meaning that words used in the Scriptures have according to Mrs. Eddy. This meaning varies greatly from that ordinarily accepted. One of her maxims is that "the literal or material reading is the reading of the carnal mind, which is enmity toward God." Even proper nouns, she claims, do not have in the Bible their usual significance. For example, Euphrates means, "Divine Science, encompassing the universe and man," "Metaphysics, taking the place of physics," "a state of sinless mortal thought." Eve is defined as "mortality," "a futile belief of life, substance, and intelligence in matter," "self-imposed folly." And of Adam she says: "Somewhat in this way ought Adam to be thought of: as a dam, an obstruction, as error opposed to truth,—as standing for that which is accursed, spoiled, or undone." Everything in the Scriptures, according to Mrs. Eddy, is misunderstood until it has a spiritual, or what she calls a "metaphysical" interpretation, and this she claims is found alone in her Key.

The Lord's Prayer, which she requires to be used in all Christian Science churches, she spiritually interprets as follows :

" Principle, eternal and harmonious,
Nameless and adorable Intelligence,
Thou art ever present and supreme.
And when this supremacy of Spirit shall appear,
the dream of matter will disappear.
Give us the understanding of Truth and Love.
And loving we shall learn God, and Truth will
destroy all error.
And lead us unto Life that is Soul, and deliver us
from the errors of sense, sin, sickness, and death.
For God is Life, Truth, and Love forever."

With this general summary of the contents of Science and Health before us, our next endeavor will be to ascertain what there was, if anything, in Mrs. Eddy's early history that will enable us to account for the origin of the book. And the moment we open her autobiography, to which she has given the title *Introspection and Retrospection*, we find that her experiences have always been in her opinion of the most unusual sort. "When I was about eight years old," she writes, "I repeatedly heard a voice, calling me distinctly by name three times, in an ascending scale." At first the voice frightened her, but as soon as she learned to answer the call by replying, "Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth," every fear vanished, and all became peace and joy.

In describing her early education she tells us that "at ten years of age I was as familiar with Lindley Murray's Grammar as with the Westminster Catechism; and the latter I had to repeat every Sunday. My favorite studies were Natural Philosophy, Logic, and Moral Science. From my brother Albert I received lessons in the ancient tongues, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin." In accounting for the slight evidence of this knowledge in her works she says, "After my discovery of Christian Science, most of the knowledge I had gleaned from schoolbooks vanished like a dream."

Just before she was admitted to the Congregational (Trinitarian) Church at the age of twelve, as she tells us in a chapter entitled Theological Reminiscences, "the doctrine of Unconditional Election or Predestination greatly troubled me. . . . So perturbed was I by the thoughts aroused by this erroneous doctrine that the family doctor was summoned and pronounced me stricken with fever."

While in this condition, her father, she says, tried his best to convert her to his man-made creed, but to no purpose. On the contrary, "My mother," she continues, "as she bathed my burning temples, bade me lean on God's love, which would give me rest, if I went to Him in prayer, as I was wont to do, seeking His guidance. I prayed; and a soft glow of ineffable joy came over me. The fever was gone, and I rose and dressed myself, in a normal condition of health. Mother saw this and was glad. The physician marvelled; and the 'horrible decree' of Predestination—as John Calvin rightly called his own tenet—forever lost its power over me."

Out of this experience and others of a similar character grew Mrs. Eddy's favorite doctrine of the superiority of the feminine element in matters of religion. Woman she describes as "a higher term for man." She alone "gives the full spiritual compound idea of Him who is Life, Truth, and Love." "She is the first to abandon the belief in the material origin of man and to discern spiritual creation." It is this quality of superior spiritual insight that "enables woman to be first to interpret the Scriptures in their true sense." Just as "Jesus was the offspring of Mary's self-conscious communion with God," so when Divine Science comes into the world, "woman must give it birth. It must be begotten of spirituality, since none but the pure in heart can see God."

Mrs. Eddy's doctrine on this subject reaches its climax in the clear intimation, if not the direct assertion, that she is herself the woman referred to in the twelfth chapter of the Book of Revelation, which opens as follows: "And there appeared a great wonder in heaven; a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon

under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars."

"When quite a child," she writes, "we adopted the Graham system for dyspepsia, ate only bread and vegetables, and drank water. Following this diet for years, we became more dyspeptic, however, and, of course, thought we must diet more rigidly; so we partook of but one meal in twenty-four hours, and this consisted of a thin slice of bread, about three inches square, without water; our physician not allowing us, with this ample meal, to wet our parched lips for many hours thereafter; whenever we drank it produced violent retchings. Thus we passed most of our early years, as many can attest, in hunger, pain, weakness, and starvation."

Here we find most unmistakably one of the chief sources of Mrs. Eddy's ultra opinions so often reiterated about the futility of any attempt to regain health by following the laws of hygiene, or any prescription based upon material science.

From this and similar experiences she says herself that she learned to bid defiance to the "medicine-men." "Metaphysical Science came in and saved me." "Truth, opening my eyes, relieved my stomach, and I ate without suffering, giving God thanks." "I learned also that food gives no strength or weakness to the body, that mind alone does that."

Mrs. Eddy's birthplace was in the town of Bow, N. H., in sight of her present home at Pleasant View in Concord, the capital of the State. While she was still a young girl, her parents moved to Tilton, a village eighteen miles north of Concord, adjoining the town of Canterbury, where there was a flourishing settlement of Shakers. From them she undoubtedly received

many ideas and suggestions that greatly influenced her tendencies of thought. The doctrine of "divine illumination," for which the Shakers were famous, she must have become familiar with, as it was one of the current topics of conversation in all that region. Her brother Albert worked in the law office of Franklin Pierce (afterward President of the United States), who was counsel for the Shakers, and had charge of an important trial of some of their number in Concord in 1848.

Being impelled, as she says herself, "from my very childhood by a hunger and thirst after divine things,— a desire for something higher and better than matter and apart from it," she must certainly have read with avidity the current literature of this "Church of Jesus Christ and Mother Ann," which she could so easily obtain from any of her neighbors. In it we find the same outbursts against putting confidence in matter that we find in *Science and Health*. Both the Shakers and Mrs. Eddy reject and almost abhor the literal interpretation of the Bible, and constantly insist that the symbolic interpretation is the only true one. Both affirm that the last dispensation will be one of healing by spiritual means alone. Both teach that the Second Coming of Christ must of necessity be in the form of a woman. In fact, if we should take the declaration of the Shakers, as expressed in their Manual, that "Shakerism is the only religious system that teaches Science by Divine Revelation," we should only need to change the first word of the sentence to have a satisfactory statement of Mrs. Eddy's claim.

Mother Ann's personal experiences must have made a deep impression upon Mrs. Eddy, and their lives have much in common. Mrs. Ann Lee Stanley, who

had succeeded to the leadership of the Shaking Quakers in England, came to this country with a few of her followers in 1774, and settled in Watervliet, New York, a few miles from Albany. She was acknowledged as a "Mother in Christ" by her devotees, and early assumed the title of "Ann, the Word." She believed that she was constantly inspired from on high, and that she had the power to work miracles. A civil charge was brought against her for high treason and witchcraft, and for some years she was imprisoned at Albany and Poughkeepsie. The result of this alleged persecution was that her followers rapidly multiplied. Settlements were formed in New Hampshire, Connecticut, Ohio, and other States to carry out her doctrines. After her death it was asserted by many of her followers that messages were received from her both orally and in writing. Both Ann Lee and Mrs. Eddy early in life had their heavenly visions. Their extraordinary ascetic practices were very similar, and their views about marriage and the motherhood of God were strikingly alike. They both taught their followers to apply to them "the endearing term of mother," and they both claimed the possession of superhuman powers. For these and other reasons, the evidence is most decisive that the influence of the one upon the other was direct and intimate.

In 1843 Mrs. Eddy married her first husband, a Mr. Glover, of Charleston, South Carolina, but he died the following year, and she returned to the paternal roof in Tilton to take up afresh her search for health. "I wandered," she says, "through the dim mazes of *Materia Medica*, till I was weary of 'scientific guessing,' as it has been called. I sought knowledge from the different schools—Allopathy, Homœopathy,

Hydropathy, Electricity, and from various humbugs—but without receiving satisfaction. . . . Neither ancient nor modern philosophy could clear the clouds, or give one distinct statement of the spiritual Science of Mind-healing. Human reason was not equal to it.”

Another experience that furnished Mrs. Eddy with much material for Science and Health was her sojourn in the sanitarium of P. P. Quimby, a noted mental healer of Portland, Maine. For many years after her second marriage to Dr. Patterson, she remained an invalid, and no relief came to her aid until in 1862 she was taken for treatment to Portland. For seven years previous to her going to Quimby, she says in a letter quoted by Dr. Riley in his valuable article on “The Personal Sources of Christian Science” (*Psychol. Rev.*, Nov., 1903), “I was confined to my bed with a severe illness and seldom left my bed or room.” So much did he help her that “in less than one week,” according to her own statement, she “ascended by a stairway of one hundred and eighty-two steps to the dome of the City Hall,” and was almost entirely well.

Quimby’s method of treatment is thus described in one of his circulars of 1859: “I make no outward application, but simply sit by the patient, tell him what he thinks is his disease, and my explanation is the cure. If I succeed in correcting his errors, I change the fluids of his system and establish the truth or health. The truth is the cure.”

Mr. Quimby died the year before Mrs. Eddy made what she calls her “Great Discovery,” that all is mind and mind is all. Of the parallelisms between Mrs. Eddy’s views as found in Science and Health and Quimby’s, Dr. Riley in the article quoted above writes as follows: “At first sight Eddyism might seem noth-

ing but Quimbyism. He taught a 'Science of Health'; she wrote 'Science and Health'; both employed the term Christian Science. Again, Mrs. Eddy has her reversed statements, propositions which are offered as self-evident because they read backward. She propounds this concatenation: 'There is no pain in Truth, and no Truth in pain; no matter in mind, and no mind in matter; no nerve in Intelligence, and no Intelligence in nerve; no matter in Spirit, and no Spirit in matter.' Similar patent reversibles are to be found in Quimby's 'Science of Man': 'Error is sickness, Truth is health; Error is matter, Truth is God; God is right, error is wrong.' "

It is beyond reasonable doubt that both Mr. Quimby and Mrs. Eddy got many of their ideas from the books in common circulation in their day dealing with the subjects in which they had a deep personal interest. And it is nothing to their discredit that such was the case. Durant's *New Theory of Animal Magnetism, with a Key to the Mysteries*, was a book that then had many readers. Dr. Dod's book on the *Philosophy of Electrical Psychology* must have been frequently at hand, to say nothing of Grimes's *Mysteries of Human Nature*, of which almost everybody in that day had something to say pro or con.

Furthermore, Mrs. Eddy repeatedly refers to her experiences with Homœopathy as greatly influencing her views. "I found," she says, in her chapter on Introspection and Retrospection, "in the two hundred and sixty-two remedies enumerated by Jahr, one pervading secret,—namely, that the less material medicine we have, and the more mind, the better the work is done; a fact which seems to prove the principle of Mind-healing. One drop of the thirtieth attenuation

of Natrum Muriaticum, in a tumblerful of water, and one teaspoonful of the water mixed with the faith of ages, would cure patients not affected by a larger dose."

With these numerous sources to draw from, we cannot admit Mrs. Eddy's assertion that what she calls "The Precious Volume" is "hopelessly original," and that all other systems of mental healing are plagiarisms from it. Much less can we assent to her preposterous claim when she says: "I should blush to write of Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures, as I have done, were it of human origin, and I, apart from God, its author; but as I was only a scribe, echoing the harmonies of Heaven in divine metaphysics, I cannot be supermodest of the Christian Science text-book."

The work before us plainly grew up out of Mrs. Eddy's peculiar experiences and environment. It is the product of the application of her own natural powers to the data thus acquired, and its value ought to be determined by just the same tests as we apply to all similar products, namely, by the success with which it accounts for all the actual facts.

Now nothing is better established by observation and experiment than that the mind under certain conditions can to a remarkable degree affect the activities of the body. Great mental excitement has often made people insensible to what would otherwise have been excruciating pain. Paralytics in numerous instances have risen from their beds and fled unaided from burning buildings. Many persons have brought on sickness and death by the morbid dread of certain diseases. Others have maintained themselves in health and strength against extraordinary odds by a cheerful

and hopeful spirit. These facts have been noted almost from the dawn of history, and are made use of to-day by the Hottentots of South Africa as well as by the most refined and cultivated people of the globe.

As Professor Angell has expressed it in his excellent discussion of "Christian Science from a Psychologist's Point of View" (*The World To-day*, April, 1905), "Mesmerists, hypnotists, Christian Scientists, faith curists, mental healers, medicine-men, priests, saints, and physicians, one and all succeed, by playing upon the imagination, in producing remarkable changes in bodily health." Suggestive therapeutics has undoubtedly healed a long list of diseases, all the way from insomnia and neuralgia up to alcoholism and asthma in some of its worst forms. It has also greatly mitigated the distressing symptoms of other troubles in which the nervous system plays an important part. But there is little or no proof that the diseases caused by bacilli, such as typhoid fever, smallpox, and bubonic plague, or cases of fracture, can be helped in this manner.

Mrs. Eddy is right in appealing to religion in the care of the body as well as of the soul. For "religious enthusiasm has always been one of the most effective spurs to human action," and only the greatest good can come from urging the patient to commit himself unreservedly to the kindly purposes of God. But there is not a particle of reason in this position for holding either that there is no body, or that disease has no existence at all.

The fact that we may sometimes be in a condition in which we are not thinking of our bodies, does not prove that we never had any. Because we may sometimes be ignorant of the existence of a disease, that should not argue that we have established the non-existence

of all disease. Nor have we any ground for holding that sin, sickness, and death have the same relation to reality that darkness has to light, as Mrs. Eddy constantly asserts. Darkness is merely the absence of light, but sin is not merely the absence of goodness. Sin is the product of a bad intention, and a bad intention is just as real as a good intention. Sickness is not merely the absence of the idea of health. It is a disordered condition of the body and is just as real as a well-ordered condition, which is health.

Moreover, our knowledge of our individual existence is to us the most fundamental fact in the universe. We cannot consider ourselves as the mere idea of some other being, even of God. Nor can we regard God as all-in-all in the sense in which Mrs. Eddy regards him,—as the sum-total of the universe,—although we can talk about such a being just as we can talk about round squares and quadrilateral triangles.

The position taken in Science and Health ignores the teachings of history. Mrs. Eddy has recently said in a letter to the *New York American*, dated Nov. 22, 1906: "I do not find my authority for Christian Science in history, but in revelation. If there had never been such a person as the Galilean Prophet, it would make no difference to me."

It is equally at variance with Mrs. Eddy's position to look through nature up to God. As there is no such thing as matter, the heavens for her do not declare the glory of God, nor does the firmament show forth his handiwork. There is nothing to be learned by considering the lilies of the field or the fowls of the air. Just as we must reject Mrs. Eddy's psychology as an unjustifiable exaggeration and perversion of a great truth, so we must refuse to accept her one-sided con-

ception of the universe in which we live and its relation to our Maker.

Most emphatically ought we to protest against the claim she makes in her *Miscellaneous Writings* (p. 364) for Christian Science that "it is the soul of divine philosophy and there is no other philosophy. It is not a search after wisdom, it is wisdom: it is God's right hand grasping the universe."

There is much ground for the statement of an able and careful critic of Christian Science that the proper point of view from which to judge of Mrs. Eddy's contribution to the cause of religion is to be found in the analysis of her own statement: "I am a Christian Scientist, the Founder of this System of Religion,—widely known, one readily sees that this science has distanced all other religions and pathological systems for physical and moral reformation."

In spite of all this egotism and misrepresentation of the truth, it must be admitted that Christian Science has an important message for this present materialistic age; for it emphasizes the fact that the mental and spiritual things in this universe are vastly more important than the material, and that the most fundamental truths with which we have to do are not obtained through the senses, but are immediately discerned. It makes vivid the fact that man is not a mere machine, or a slave of the body, but a living spirit; and it brings prominently to view the much neglected truth that the mission of religion is to purify and ennoble the body as well as the soul.

Christian Science is not by any means to be regarded as a delusion and a snare. The way to make it useful to the religious progress of mankind, as a writer in the *Outlook* (June 23, 1906) has well said, is "to teach

with greater clearness and power the three truths of which its votaries regard themselves as peculiar prophets, namely, the spiritual nature of man, the immediacy of the soul's knowledge of the spiritual world, and the curative power of Christianity ; and to teach these truths freed from the accompanying errors of Christian Science that the body is but a shadow, spiritual visions are infallible guides, and the cure of evil, whether moral or physical, is thinking that it does not exist."

m. Madame Blavatsky's "Isis Unveiled."—It is a striking fact that during the same period of time in which Mrs. Mary Baker G. Eddy was strenuously laboring to place the Christian Science religion upon a firm foundation in and around Boston, a Russian noblewoman, by the name of Madame Helena P. Blavatsky, was working with even greater zeal and energy to establish Theosophy, or the "Wisdom religion," in New York.

Mrs. Eddy had been brought up very simply in the country, and had spent her life almost wholly in a small portion of New England. Madame Blavatsky was a typical cosmopolitan, having from her girlhood been a great traveller, and having acquainted herself, by actual contact, with the people and customs of a large portion of the globe.

Both of these women claimed to be directed by superhuman powers and to speak with an authority not born of the earth. The text-book prepared by Mrs. Eddy for her followers was entitled *Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures*. Madame Blavatsky called her work *Isis Unveiled; a Master-key to the Mysteries of Ancient and Modern Science and Theology*. The former bible was published in 1875;

the latter in 1876. Very few copies of *Science and Health* were sold for months after its issue. The entire first edition of *Isis Unveiled* was taken up within fourteen days.

The circumstances that led Madame Blavatsky to the writing of *Isis Unveiled* are substantially as follows: Alone and with very little money she landed in New York on the 7th of July, 1873, having crossed the Atlantic on a French steamship sailing from Havre. For several weeks after her arrival she had lodgings in a cheap east-side tenement-house, and supported herself by sewing cravats for a Hebrew shopkeeper near her quarters.

As soon as her family found out her whereabouts through the Russian consul in New York, they sent her ample means to establish herself in comfort at 16 Irving Place, near Union Square, where she was soon surrounded by a large circle of admirers. To them she entrusted the fact that she had left Paris on a day's notice by order of certain Tibetan "Mahatmas" or "Masters," residing in the fastnesses of the Himalayas, who had directed her to go at once to New York and await further orders.

During the first year of her residence in America she devoted her energies to the ardent defence of Spiritualism from the many fierce attacks to which it was at that time subjected, owing to the remarkable manifestations being given through the Fox sisters in and around Rochester, N. Y. In a letter to *The Spiritualist* in 1874 she wrote: "For over fifteen years have I fought my battle for the blessed truth; have travelled and preached it—though I never was born for a lecturer—from the snow-covered tops of the Caucasian Mountains as well as from the sandy valleys of the

Nile. I have proved the truth of it practically and by persuasion. For the sake of Spiritualism I have left my home, an easy life amongst a civilized society, and have become a wanderer upon the face of the earth. . . . Knowing this country to be the cradle of Modern Spiritualism, I came over here from France with feelings not unlike those of a Mohammedan approaching the birthplace of his Prophet."

Madame Blavatsky did not, however, adopt the spiritualistic explanation of the phenomena produced. In a note found in one of her scrap-books written about this time, referring to her connection with the Spiritualists, she says: "I was sent from Paris to America on purpose to prove the phenomena and their reality, and to show the fallacy of the spiritualistic theory of spirits. But how could I do it best? I did not want the people at large to know that I could produce the same things at will. I had received orders to the contrary." In another note, written shortly after the one just quoted, we read: "Ordered to begin telling the public the truth about the phenomena and their mediums, and now my martyrdom will begin. I shall have all the Spiritualists against me in addition to the Christians and the Sceptics. Thy will, oh M., be done. H. P. B."

By a strange coincidence, only a few months after Madame Blavatsky's appearance in America some very remarkable spiritualistic phenomena began to manifest themselves at the farmhouse of the Eddy family, in the town of Chittenden, Vermont. Visitors alleged that through the help of William Eddy, one of the two illiterate, hard-working brothers who owned the place, they could see, and even touch and converse with, deceased relatives, and that other experiences of an

equally extraordinary character frequently occurred in his presence. People soon began to flock to the town from all parts of the country.

Among others to come to the place was Colonel Henry S. Olcott, an eminent lawyer of New York, who after a careful examination pronounced the phenomena genuine and wrote extensive descriptions of them for the New York *Daily Graphic*. On reading these reports of the so-called "Eddy ghosts" at Chittenden, Madame Blavatsky at once hastened thither, and there met the author of the articles in the *Daily Graphic*, with whom she maintained from that time forth the closest relations.

Colonel Olcott opens his recent book, *Old Diary Leaves ; a True History of the Theosophical Society*, with this description of their first meeting : " Since I am to tell of the birth and progress of the Theosophical Society, I must begin at the beginning, and tell how its two founders first met. It was a very prosaic incident ; I said '*Permettez-moi, Madame,*' and gave her a light for her cigarette ; our acquaintance began in smoke, but it stirred up a great and permanent fire " (p. 1).

Immediately after the arrival of Madame Blavatsky, or H. P. B., as she preferred to be called, the phenomena at the Eddy homestead underwent a marked change in their character. From the small closet in which William Eddy secreted himself at the beginning of the seances there issued not only the phantoms of dead men and women once known in that locality, but those of other nationalities, such as a Russian peasant girl, a mussulman from Tiflis, a Kourdish cavalier with scimitar, pistols, and lance, a hideous negro sorcerer from Africa, and the like. " There was given,"

says Colonel Olcott, "to every eye-witness a convincing proof that the apparitions were genuine" (p. 8).

After some days at Chittenden, Madame Blavatsky returned to New York. Colonel Olcott soon joined her and became one of her most devoted pupils in the study of eastern occult religion. Together with a number of mutual friends, they formed in 1875 the Theosophical Society, of which Colonel Olcott was chosen president, an office which he held to the day of his death in 1907. The object of the society was to acquaint its members with the original occult sources of religion and establish a universal brotherhood of man. It took for its motto that of the Maharajah of Benares, "There is no Religion higher than Truth." Madame Blavatsky beyond all question was the originator of the new movement and its undisputed leader and head. According to Colonel Olcott, she offered almost daily many infallible proofs that she was endowed with superhuman powers.

The following are samples of those he has recorded as occurring at this early period of her career in America: "Among her callers was an Italian artist, a Signor B., formerly a carbonaro. I was sitting alone with her in her drawing-room when he made his first visit. They talked of Italian affairs, and he suddenly pronounced the name of one of the greatest of the Adepts. She started as if she had received an electric shock; looked him straight in the eyes and said (in Italian), 'What is it? I am ready.' He passed it off carelessly, but thenceforth the talk was all about Magic, Magicians, Adepts. Signor B. went and opened one of the French windows, made some beckoning passes toward the outer air, and presently a pure white butterfly came into the room, and went flying about

near the ceiling. H. P. B. laughed in a cheerful way and said : 'That is pretty, but I can also do it !' She, too, opened the window, made similar beckoning passes, and presently a second white butterfly came fluttering in. It mounted to the ceiling, chased the other around the room, played with it now and then, with it flew to a corner, and, presto ! both disappeared at once while we are looking at them. 'What does that mean ?' I asked. 'Only this, that Signor B. can make an elemental turn itself into a butterfly and so can I.' "

"One cold winter's night, when several inches of snow lay upon the ground, she and I were working upon her book until a late hour at her rooms in Thirty-fourth Street. I had eaten some saltish food for dinner, and about 1 A.M., feeling very thirsty, said to her, 'Would it not be nice to have some hot-house grapes?' So it would,' she replied, 'let us have some.' 'But the shops have been closed for hours and we can buy none,' I said. 'No matter, we shall have them all the same,' was her reply. 'But how?' 'I will show you, if you will just turn down that gaslight on the table in front of us.' I turned the cock unintentionally so far around as to extinguish the light. 'You need not have done that,' she said, 'I only wanted you to make the light dim. However, light it again quickly.' A box of matches lay just at hand, and in a moment I had relit the lamp. 'See !' she exclaimed, pointing to a hanging book-shelf on the wall before us. To my amazement there hung from the knobs at the two ends of one of the shelves two large bunches of ripe Hamburg grapes, which we proceeded to eat. To my question as to the agency employed, she said it was done by certain elementals under her control" (pp. 15-17).

According to the account we have of the matter, Madame Blavatsky began writing, quite unconscious of the real nature of her task.

"One day in the summer of 1875, H. P. B. showed me," says Colonel Olcott, "some sheets of manuscript which she had written and said: 'I wrote this last night "by order," but what the deuce it is to be I don't know. Perhaps it is for a newspaper article, perhaps for a book, perhaps for nothing; anyhow, I did as I was ordered'" (p. 202). After he had looked at it she threw the MS. into her desk, and nothing more was said about the matter until her return from a visit to her friends, Prof. and Mrs. Corson of Cornell University, a few months later. Encouraged by them, she took up the task of writing out what her Masters made known to her, and she kept at it with prodigious and unrelenting energy until the fall of 1876, when *Isis Unveiled*, consisting of two large volumes of over 600 pages each, was placed in the hands of the printer.

In a letter to one of her family in Russia quoted by A. P. Sinnett (*Incidents in the Life of Madame Blavatsky*, pp. 205-206) she says: "When I wrote 'Isis,' I wrote it so easily that it certainly was no labor, but a real pleasure. Why should I be praised for it? Whenever I am told to write, I sit down and obey, and then I can write easily upon almost anything,—metaphysics, psychology, philosophy, ancient religions, zoölogy, natural sciences, or what not. I never put myself the question, 'Can I write on this subject? . . . ' or 'Am I equal to the task,' but I simply sit down and write. Why? *Because somebody who knows all dictates to me. . . .* I tell you candidly that whenever I write upon a subject I know little or nothing of, I address myself to them [the Mahatmas], and one of them inspires me; *i. e.*, he

allows me to simply copy what I write from manuscripts and even printed matter that pass before my eyes in the air, during which process I have never been unconscious one single instant. . . . It is that knowledge of His protection and faith in His power that have enabled me to become mentally and spiritually so strong."

In another letter to her sister she says: "I certainly refuse point-blank to attribute it [the book] to my own knowledge or memory, for I could never arrive alone at either such premises or conclusions. . . . I tell you seriously I am helped, and he who helps me is my Guru."

Col. Olcott asserts that many pages of the book were thus written for her, a "foreign entity" making use of her organism or "shell" while she was asleep. He refers to the beginning of the chapter on the civilization of ancient Egypt (vol. i., chap. xiv.) as an illustration of the passages composed in this manner. Another large part of the subject-matter of *Isis*, he maintains, could have been drawn from no other source than "from the Astral Light" over which she had such a wonderful control.

The first volume of *Isis Unveiled* is devoted to "Science" and the second to "Religion," but no one claims that either volume has any definite plan or logical arrangement of material. All admit that many passages under "Science" might equally well be put under "Religion" and that many parts of "Religion" might more appropriately come in volume i. This is accounted for to the satisfaction of Madame Blavatsky's disciples by the statement that she wrote down the communications as they were made to her, logical consistency not being considered in the matter.

In the preface to the first volume of *Isis Unveiled*, Madame Blavatsky tells us that "when, years ago, we

first travelled over the East, exploring the penetralia of its deserted sanctuaries, two saddening and ever-recurring questions oppressed our thoughts; where, who, what is God? Who ever saw the immortal *spirit* of man, so as to be able to assure himself of man's immortality?

"It was while most anxious to solve these perplexing problems that we came into contact with certain men, endowed with such mysterious powers and such profound knowledge that we may truly designate them as the sages of the Orient. To their instructions we lent a ready ear. They showed us that by combining science with religion, the existence of God and immortality of man's spirit may be demonstrated like a problem in Euclid . . . *ex nihilo nihil fit*; prove the soul of man by its wondrous powers—you have proved God."

"In our studies," she continues, "mysteries were shown to be no mysteries. Names and places that to the Western mind have only a significance derived from Eastern fable were shown to be realities. Reverently we stepped in spirit within the temple of Isis, to lift aside the veil of 'the one that is and was and shall be' at Sais; to look through the rent curtain of the Sanctum Sanctorum at Jerusalem; and even to interrogate within the crypts which once existed beneath the sacred edifice the mysterious Bath-Kol."

Following the preface comes a section consisting of about forty pages, entitled "Before the Veil," in which Madame Blavatsky claims that the present chaotic state of affairs in all lands on the subject of religion is wholly due to the fact that the modern world is unwilling to follow the wisdom handed down to us from the prehistoric sages of the Far East.

The greatest revealer of divine truths within the past twenty-five centuries, she declares, was Plato, and he "mirrored faithfully in his works the spiritualism of the Vedic philosophers who lived and wrote thousands of years before his day, and its metaphysical expression. Nyasa, Djeming, Kapila, Vrihaspati, Sumati, and so many others will be found to have transmitted their indelible imprint though the intervening centuries upon Plato and his school" (p. xi.).

They all sought for the truly real, the always-existing, the permanent as distinguished from the fleeting and transitory, and they found it in God as the first principle of all principles, the Supreme Idea upon which all other ideas are grounded, the ultimate substance from which all things derive their being and essence. With these sages God is discernible only by the elect, by those who have prepared themselves by a rigid discipline of the mind and body to receive him. "This," says Madame Blavatsky, "was also the teaching of Jesus, one of the greatest of the Theosophists, who said to his little circle of chosen disciples, 'To you it is given to know the mysteries of the Kingdom of God, but to them [the uninitiated masses] it is not given.' "

Among the ancient institutions that Madame Blavatsky highly extols are the Eleusinian Mysteries of the Greeks. These she regards as the type of all true religion, and claims that only those who have passed through such an initiation as they prescribe are fitted to have "friendship and interior communication with God, and the enjoyment of that felicity which arises from intimate converse with divine beings."

Many pages of this section of her book Madame Blavatsky devotes to an explanation of the unusual

terms she makes use of. The following are a few of them : "Æthrobacy is the Greek name for walking or being lifted in the air ; levitation, so-called, among modern spiritualists. It may be either conscious or unconscious. . . ." "Were our physicians to experiment on such levitated subjects, it would be found that they are strongly charged with a similar form of electricity to that of the spot which, according to the law of gravitation, ought to attract them, or rather prevent their levitation. And, if some physical nervous disorder, as well as spiritual ecstasy, produce unconsciously to the subject the same effects, it proves that if this force in nature were properly studied, it could be regulated at will."

"Everything pertaining to the spiritual world must come to us through the stars, and if we are in friendship with them, we may attain the greatest magical effects."

"The Astral Light is identical with the Hindu Akasa. . . . The language of the Vedas shows that the Hindus of fifty centuries ago ascribed to it the same properties as do the Thibetan lamas of the present day. That they regarded it as the source of life, the reservoir of all energy, and the propeller of every change of matter." "The Brahmanical expression 'to stir up the Brahma,' means to stir up this power. . . . This is the evident origin of the Christian dogma of transubstantiation."

"Elemental spirits" are "the creatures evolved in the four kingdoms of earth, air, fire, and water, and called by the kabalists gnomes, sylphs, salamanders, and undines. They may be termed the forces of nature, and will either operate effects as the servile agents of general law, or may be employed by the disembodied

spirits—whether pure or impure—and by living adepts of magic and sorcery, to produce desired phenomenal results. Such beings never become men. . . . They have been seen, feared, blessed, banned, and invoked in every quarter of the globe and in every age. . . . These elementals are the principal agents of disembodied but never visible spirits at seances, and the producers of all the phenomena except the subjective.”

Madame Blavatsky strongly commends the fakirs of India, who generally are attached to the Brahmanical pagodas and practise the laws of Manu. She says of them that they are so genuinely devoted to religion that they go about almost naked, carrying only a few such objects as a tiny flute for charming serpents, and a magical bamboo-rod, about a foot long, with the seven mystical knots upon it. These they conceal in their long hair when they are not in use. No fakir will allow any one to take his rod from him, because he received it from his guru on the day of his initiation, and he produces all of his marvellous occult phenomena through its power. The self-imposed punishments he inflicts upon himself, such as flaying the limbs alive, cutting off the toes or feet, tearing out the eyes, immensely hasten the development of his religious life. He thus attains such a high degree of sainthood that he will laugh to scorn every imaginable torture, persuaded that the more his outer body is mortified, the brighter and holier becomes his inner, spiritual body.

Madame Blavatsky makes much of the word “Hermetic,” which she defines as coming “from Hermes, the god of Wisdom, known in Egypt, Syria, and Phœnicia, as Thot, Tat, Adad, Seth, Sat-an (the latter

not to be taken in the sense applied to it by Moslems and Christians), and in Greece as Kadmus." He is known in Egypt as "the friend and instructor of Isis and Osiris."

"Initiates," according to Madame Blavatsky, meant "in times of antiquity those who had been initiated into the arcane knowledge taught by the hierophants of the Mysteries; and in our modern days those who have been initiated by the adepts of mystic lore into the mysterious knowledge, which, notwithstanding the lapse of ages, has yet a few real votaries on the earth."

Before concluding this introduction, Madame Blavatsky summarizes the two remaining sections of her work with the following statement: "In undertaking to inquire into the assumed infallibility of Modern Science and Theology, the author has been forced, even at the risk of being thought discursive, to make constant comparison of the ideas, achievements, and pretensions of their representatives, with those of the ancient philosophers and religious teachers. . . . We wish to show how inevitable were their innumerable failures, and how they must continue until these pretended authorities of the West go to the Brahmans and Lamaists of the Far Orient, and respectfully ask them to impart the alphabet of true science."

The first of these sections begins with these words: "There exists somewhere in this wide world an old book,—so very old that our modern antiquarians might ponder over its pages an indefinite time, and still not quite agree as to the nature of the fabric upon which it is written. It is the only original copy now in existence.

"The most ancient Hebrew document on occult learning—the Siphra Dzeniouta—was compiled from it, and

that at a time when the former was already considered in the light of a literary relic."

The following extracts fairly illustrate the character and contents of this so-called scientific section of the work. "A conviction founded upon seventy thousand years of experience, as they allege, has been entertained by Hermetic philosophers of all periods that matter has in time become, through sin, more gross and dense than it was at man's first formation; that at the beginning, the human body was of a half-ethereal nature; and that, before the fall, mankind communed freely with now unseen universes." "The same belief in the pre-existence of a far more spiritual race than the one to which we now belong can be traced back to the earliest traditions of nearly every people. In the ancient Quiche manuscript, published by Brasseur de Bourbourg—the Popol Vuh,—the first men are mentioned as a race that could reason and speak, whose sight was unlimited, and who knew all things at once. . . . And the unequivocal statement of the anonymous Gnostic who wrote the Gospel according to John that 'as many as received Him,' *i. e.*, who followed practically the esoteric doctrine of Jesus, would 'become the sons of God,' points to the same belief. . . . From the remotest periods religious philosophies taught that the whole universe was filled with divine and spiritual beings of divers races. From one of these evolved, in course of time, Adam, the primitive man."

At the outset of the second volume, Madame Blavatsky asserts that every Christian doctrine had its origin in a heathen rite, and says that what she undertakes to do is "to compare the Christian dogmas and miracles with the doctrines and phenomena of ancient magic."

"There never was," she declares, "nor ever will be

a truly philosophical mind, whether Pagan, heathen, Jew, or Christian, but has followed the same line of thought. Gautama-Buddha is mirrored in the precepts of Christ; Paul and Philo Judæus are faithful echoes of Plato; and Ammonius Saccas and Plotinus won their immortal fame by combining the teachings of all these great masters of true philosophy" (p. 84).

The subsequent pages of the work attempt to vindicate this assertion. By copious quotations from the writings of a great array of religious leaders, ancient and modern, she undertakes to show that all true doctrines in religion have come down to us from a pre-Buddhistic race of beings, and are not in any sense the product of modern thought.

In order more fully to explain her views, Madame Blavatsky followed *Isis Unveiled* with another larger work, entitled *The Secret Doctrine*. But as neither work sets forth any definite notions as to her positive religious beliefs she prepared a hand-book for her disciples with the title, *The Key to Theosophy*. To show what modern Theosophy really claims to be, we quote a few passages from this work :

"Theosophy is Divine Wisdom, such as that possessed by the gods."

"We believe in a Universal Divine Principle, the root of All, from which all proceeds, and within which all shall be absorbed at the end of the great cycle of Being."

"When we speak of the Deity and make it identical, hence coeval, with Nature, the eternal and uncreated nature is meant."

"An Occultist or a Theosophist addresses his prayer to his *Father which is in secret* . . . and that 'Father' is in man himself." "The inner man is the only God we have cognizance of."

"Our philosophy teaches us that as there are seven fundamental forces in nature, and seven planes of being, so there are seven states of consciousness in which man can live, think, remember, and have his being" (p. 89).

These "seven planes of being" vary all the way from that of the rupa or physical body up to the atma or pure spirit.

"The spiritual ego can act only when the personal ego is paralyzed. . . . Could the former manifest itself uninterruptedly, and without impediment, there would be no longer men on earth, but we should all be gods" (p. 131). By the proper training of his faculties man passes from the Lower to the Higher Life in accordance with the law of Karma, or "the universal law of retributive justice."

"Theosophy considers humanity as an emanation from divinity on its return path thereto. At an advanced point upon the path, Adeptship is reached by those who have devoted several incarnations to its achievement" (p. 217).

The chief duty of a Theosophist is "to control and conquer through the higher, the lower self. To purify himself inwardly and morally; to fear no one and nought, save the tribunal of his own conscience" (p. 241).

Madame Blavatsky, whose maiden name was Helena Petrovna Hahn, was born in the southern part of Russia, of noble and wealthy parents, July 31, 1831. She was a bright, excitable, and erratic child, with a strength of body far beyond her years. According to the recently published letters of her sister, she was frequently doing things in the presence of her playmates that were beyond the ken of man to understand.

At seventeen years of age she married a prominent

councillor of state, but lived with her husband only a few weeks, when they separated by mutual consent. Entirely dissatisfied with the traditional and formal religion of her country, and impelled by a genuine desire to know more about the extraordinary religious experiences of the Orient, of which she had often heard, she left her home and went to India. Although ignorant of the language and customs of the country, she spent several years in penetrating almost every nook and corner of the Orient in search of ancient mysteries and sacred lore. She seems to have been almost wholly dependent upon what was told her, and beyond question she was often radically misled by those with whom she came in contact.

In 1851 she visited Quebec to study the Indians in that vicinity, and then went to New Orleans to acquaint herself with the Voodoos. From there she went to Mexico and back to Bombay. Later, she made a trip around the world, stopping in New York, Chicago, and San Francisco, and spending several months in Japan. In 1855, after many previous unsuccessful attempts, she finally obtained an entrance into Tibet, one of the most inaccessible portions of the earth, where few, if any, white women had ever before been allowed to penetrate.

In all probability, after some years she was initiated by the priests of the country into their sacred mystical rites. While in Tibet she fell from her horse down a steep embankment, receiving injuries which resulted in a fracture of the spine. In consequence of this accident, it is stated on good authority that she went through many strange psychological experiences, and for eighteen months led a completely dual existence.

On leaving Tibet she conceived the idea of founding

a new religion for the Western world, and she entered heart and soul into the undertaking. Starting out with the assumption that every founder of a religion must work miracles, she often allowed herself to indulge in the most barefaced trickery to gain attention to her cause. In view of the exposures made by the Society for Psychical Research of her performances, none of her admirers deny the fact, but they explain it on the basis (as one of them expresses it) that any religion, in order to grow, must be manured; that people are so averse to a new religious truth that any means of arousing their interest in it is legitimate.

As to the character and value of Madame Blavatsky's claims regarding the religions of India, no man is more competent to tell us than Max Müller, the famous Oriental scholar of Oxford University. The statements that follow are taken almost wholly from his article in *The Nineteenth Century* on "Esoteric Buddhism," published shortly after Madame Blavatsky's death in London in 1891.

"I am quite willing," he says, "to allow that Madame Blavatsky started out with good intentions, that she saw and was dazzled by a glimmering of truth in various religions of the world, that she believed in the possibility of a mystic union of the soul with God, and that she was most anxious to discover in a large number of books traces of that theosophic intuition which re-unites human nature with the Divine. Unfortunately, she was without the tools to dig for these treasures in the ancient literature of the world, and her mistakes in quoting from Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin would be amusing if they did not appeal to our sympathy rather for a woman who thought she could fly though she had no wings, not even those of Icarus."

Isis Unveiled Professor Müller regards as a work of prodigious labor and ingenuity, bristling with notes and references both wise and foolish,—a monument of misdirected energy. The fundamental ideas upon which it is based, so far as we can get at them, have in point of fact little or no tangible ground.

Speaking of the pre-Vedic documents and the Mahatmas, of which Madame Blavatsky makes so much, he writes : “ When asked for the production of those MSS., or for an introduction to these learned Mahatmas—for India is not so difficult to reach as it was in the days of Marco Polo,—they are never forthcoming. Nay, the curious thing is that real Sanskrit scholars who have spent their lives in India, and who know Sanskrit and Pali well, know absolutely nothing of such MSS., nothing of such teachers of mysteries. They are never known except to people who are ignorant of Sanskrit or Pali.” “ The very idea that there are secret and sacred MSS., or that there ever was any mystery about the religion of the Brahmans, is by this time thoroughly exploded.”

“ Madame Blavatsky’s powers of creation were very great ; whether she wished to have intercourse with Mahatmas, astral bodies, or ghosts of any kind. . . . So long as she placed her Mahatmas beyond the Himalayas, both she and her witnesses were quite safe from any detectives or cross-examining lawyers.”

“ But when we come to examine what these depositaries of primeval wisdom, the Mahatmas of Tibet and of the sacred Ganges, are supposed to have taught her, we find no mysteries, nothing very new, nothing very old, but simply a medley of well-known, though generally misunderstood, Brahmanic and Buddhistic doctrines.”

That there are in India, Mahatmas or "Great Souls," as the word literally signifies, no one doubts. The term is applied to men who have retired from the world and by long ascetic practices have subdued their passions and have acquired a reputation for sanctity and knowledge. They often perform startling feats and submit themselves to terrible tortures. A few of them have distinguished themselves as scholars.

But, says Professor Müller, "that some of these so-called Mahatmas are impostors is but too well known to all who live in India. I am quite ready to believe, therefore, that Madame Blavatsky and her friends were taken in by persons who pretended to be Mahatmas, though it has never been explained in what language even they could have communicated their Esoteric Buddhism to their European pupil. Madame Blavatsky was, according to her own showing, quite unable to gauge their knowledge or to test their honesty."

With these facts before us, it does not need any further argument to show that no discoverable ground exists for the claim that the bible of the Theosophists, or followers of the so-called Wisdom Religion, sets forth "a primeval, preternatural revelation granted to the fathers of the human race." It grew up, as we have found all other bibles to have done, out of the experiences, real or imaginary, of man.

This position does not belittle the fact that every religion of to-day is immensely indebted to the religions of the past. It is almost impossible to conceive of an absolutely new religion. At all events, every religion we know presupposes an antecedent religion, just as every man we know presupposes an antecedent man. No religion better illustrates this truth than Christianity. For it presupposes Judaism and Greek philosophy, and Juda-

ism presupposes the religions of Babylon and Nineveh. They in turn reach back to a more ancient Accadian religion. Farther our present knowledge will not permit us to go.

The Theosophists have undoubtedly carried their respect for antiquity entirely too far. They are greatly misled by accepting many of the exploded notions of the past, but the emphasis they put upon the universal brotherhood of man is worthy of the highest regard.

Since *Isis Unveiled* first appeared in New York, the Theosophical Society, like every other similar undertaking, has had its successes and failures. In 1879, its headquarters were moved to Adyar, Madras, India, where Colonel Olcott till 1907 presided over its destinies. In 1905, he reported that 600 branches of the society now exist in forty-two countries. In Ceylon alone he tells us the society has 250 schools and three colleges with over 30,000 pupils. According to some authorities, it has many thousand followers in France, where they often call themselves Christian Buddhists.

The head of the English branch, and the successor of Madame Blavatsky, is Mrs. Annie Besant. She is reported to be one of the most eloquent women of her time. Prof. Max Müller says that when Madame Blavatsky went to Oxford to lecture, he was told on good authority that the students sat and listened to her for six hours in succession. A gentleman who was present on the occasion told the writer that Mrs. Besant had almost the same experience when she lectured a few years ago to the students in Glasgow. Her article in the *Outlook* for October 14, 1893, entitled, "What is Theosophy?" explains her views.

There are branches of the society in New York and other American cities, but the most successful Raja Yoga

school in this country is probably at Point Loma, Cal., which is fully described in the January number of the *American Magazine* for 1907. It is presided over by Mrs. Katherine Tingley, a Massachusetts woman who was for many years engaged in philanthropic work in and about New York. The school is liberally supported by a number of wealthy men from different parts of the United States who are now members of the Brotherhood, such as A. G. Spalding and F. M. Pierce of New York, W. C. Temple of Pittsburg, and W. F. Hanson of Georgia. Ex-Secretary Lyman B. Gage, though not living in the Brotherhood, resides near it and is deeply interested in its work.

"Theosophy," says E. D. Walker in the *Arena* (January, 1893), "enrolls the founders of all religions—Jesus, Gautama, Confucius, Zoroaster, and Mahomet. It includes the great religious spirits of every age—like Swedenborg, Madame Guyon, Saint Martin, and Jacob Böhme. Especially notable is the theosophical trend of those seers of all times, the poets. Conspicuous just now are Browning, Swinburne, Tennyson, Aldrich, Whitman. The great philosophers, too, run in the same direction. . . . Theosophy regards pure Christianity as the best religion for the western world. Jesus was an Adept of the highest order—a perfect man, representing what we may attain ultimately. But the pure fountain has been so fouled by the church that a careful filtering is needed to obtain the crystal water of life."

CHAPTER IV.

THE RELATION OF THE FINE ARTS TO RELIGION.

ART, in the broadest sense of the term, denotes simply the use of means for the accomplishment of some desired end or purpose. It is not applied to the activity or products of nature, although it is closely related to those products. Strictly speaking there is no picture till man paints it, no music till man makes it, no poetry till man composes it. Nevertheless, nature furnishes all the material for art to work upon, and is the guide of man in its pursuit.

It is not the mission of any art to invent new elements. Its only function is to put the old into new forms and combinations. No genius in art, however gifted, can add a new species to either the animal or vegetable kingdom, or a new aspect to land or sea or sky. All any artist can possibly do is to make use of the boundless variety of elements that nature has already presented to him, and he has neither the ability nor the opportunity to transcend these limits.

For this reason, art must always at first be imitative. It is in this sense, and this only, that it is the business of art to "hold the mirror up to nature." Not until art has first mastered the material that nature offers and discerned its law and method of working, can it go forward and reproduce it in new combinations with something like the freedom and boldness of nature. For she scorns to imitate, and never repeats herself. No art can be true to nature, in the proper sense of that

term, until it has so perfectly acquired a knowledge of nature's elements and ways of working that it goes infinitely beyond imitation; until, indeed, the power of creating new forms has so developed that all need of imitation has ceased to exist.

For the real artist is not held down by the limitations of the individual characteristics of the object before him, but he sees the specific or typical in it, and this it is that he endeavors to express. The actual in its precise historic existence has appeared but once, and will never appear again. In its essentials, however, it is continually reappearing and ever repeating itself. Hence it is that the ideal is of far more value than the real. As another expresses it, "There is more truth in that which may often be than in that which is known to have been but once." Any work of art that tells us what has been a thousand times and what may be a thousand times again has gained a mastery over the actual, and for that very reason captivates the heart.

All the arts that man has devised are conveniently divided into those that minister to his material necessities or convenience, and those that are intended to arouse and satisfy his higher æsthetic powers. The former are properly called useful or mechanical arts, and their number and variety greatly vary with the progress of a people in industry and wealth. The latter, because they appeal to and delight the sense of beauty, have come to be known as the beautiful or fine arts in all the languages of modern civilized lands. The fine arts are often found in combination with the useful arts, but it is usually an easy matter in such cases to separate the part that is beautiful from the part that merely serves a practical purpose.

By common consent the five principal fine arts are

Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Music, and Poetry. But how they should be arranged or classified is still far from settled. Some would treat them from the standpoint of their conformity to nature ; others from the point of view of their historical development ; and others still from the psychological impulse which called them into being. But the classification of Hegel is the most satisfactory for our purpose, for he treats them from the standpoint of the ideas that they express, and the amount of matter that is needed to express them. Architecture is therefore the lowest of the fine arts. It is primarily a useful art, and only secondarily a fine art. Stone is its most natural material. Large quantities of it may be used in its constructions, which are held together by the great universal force of gravity. Massiveness, silent earnestness, immovability, are its fundamental characteristics.

Sculpture is a higher art than architecture. For although its chief material is also stone, it advances from the inorganic world to the organic. It fashions the stone into a bodily form, and makes every part of it a vehicle of thought and feeling. In any genuine piece of sculpture there is nothing left of the material that does not serve in some way to give expression to the thought of the artist. Every part of the *Apollo Belvedere*, for example, breathes forth a magnificent defiance and disdain of the enemy, just as the writer of the *Iliad* depicts him. Even the scarf on his arm is instinct with passion.

With painting the medium is no longer a coarse material substance like stone or bronze, but merely a plain colored surface ; and yet on that surface it can represent all the dimensions of space. It expresses its ideas and feelings by the mere play of light and shade.

On a small bit of canvas can be compressed a multitude of individual forms, each animated with his own characteristic thoughts, and giving vent to his own peculiar passions.

Music manifests itself through sound alone. It is a mode of motion, and motion is the natural language of emotion. It arouses the mind to activity through the ear, just as architecture and sculpture and painting do through the eye. Certain aërial vibrations falling upon the auditory nerve give rise to regularly varying mental images, called sensations of tone. "Of the ten or eleven thousand tones which may be distinguished in consciousness, music uses a comparatively small number. Our own elaborate musical system includes only eighty-five or ninety, ranging from about forty to four thousand vibrations per second; something less than seven octaves." Through this exceedingly limited medium music makes its appeal to all the mental powers. For it arouses thought and action, as well as feeling. The hearer may be stirred by it to form imaginations, retrospections, and resolves as truly as emotions and desires.

Poetry is the tongue of art let loose, so to speak. It can represent everything by mere words, and a word is a sign or representation of an idea. In a certain sense it can make all the other arts contribute to its purpose. With the least amount of matter it can communicate the greatest variety of ideas, extend itself over the greatest range of feeling, and most powerfully affect the will.

Here we need to note the fact and point out in some detail its importance to our subject that the fine arts described above, even when carried to the climax of their development, include only a portion, and that a

small one, of the field of the beautiful. As Plato has wisely said, all beauty is the outshining of the truth. Wherever any truth shows itself in some concrete form, there is beauty. All the truth there is in this world is manifested to us in the works of God. All beauty, therefore, is the expression of his thoughts, and man is enabled to express beauty as he gets acquainted with those thoughts. The fine arts are merely the attempts of man to embody as best he may some of the thoughts of God. In other words, every object in the universe, whether the product of God or man, is beautiful just in proportion as it reveals ideal perfection.

Matter alone is not beautiful. It is only the idea or thought that the matter expresses that is beautiful. Hence it is that objects in nature or art are beautiful in different degrees. The ideals they represent are of higher or lower grades according to the value of the elements that enter into their composition. The ideal of a human being is higher than that of any animal, and the ideal of a tree than that of a pebble. Even one Madonna differs from another Madonna in glory. For some represent merely the happy mother, while others chiefly magnify the sense of relationship to the divine. Although any object is beautiful that reveals ideal perfection, the perfection it reveals must be of its own kind, and in harmony with its own character. A dog, if represented as a dog, is beautiful, but if given the neck of a giraffe or the proboscis of an elephant, he becomes ridiculous, because fantastic and unreal. For the same reason the human form with wings attached to it is actually grotesque, although the term angel is often used to designate the combination.

Many limit the beautiful to objects perceivable by the senses, but there is no rational basis for such a position.

Every object is beautiful that reveals in some concrete form ideal perfection, and this applies, as Dr. Samuel Harris has so ably shown, to human actions as well as to material objects. We as properly speak of a beautiful character as of a beautiful face or a beautiful sunset. We often see manly fortitude or womanly patience exhibited under circumstances so adverse that we actually do "behold a spectacle worthy of a God." Beauty of spirit is of the same quality as all other beauty, and the admiration we have for it is not to be distinguished from any other genuine æsthetic emotion.

Equally valid is it to speak of the beauty of an argument, of a military campaign, of a scheme for social advancement. Power of any sort is beautiful when properly regulated, as in a perfectly adjusted watch or locomotive. Otherwise, it is only a source of fear or consternation. Regulated motions are beautiful motions because they could, if measured, be described with mathematical exactness. They thus represent the ideal, and reveal mind. Symmetry is beautiful, because founded upon mathematical ratios and proportions; and the curve is the line of beauty not alone, as Max Müller maintained, because the eye can trace a curved line with less fatigue than a straight one, but chiefly because it deviates at every point from a straight line according to a law, thus manifesting a controlling plan or purpose. Mathematics, having to do with the properties of space and time, lies at the foundation of all the sciences. For this reason beauty has well been described as the outshining of exact mathematical truth. Nothing that is at variance with mathematics can be beautiful. For no ideal could be formed of such a thing, and it could represent no truth.

The more deeply we go into the subject, the more

clearly we see that all beauty in nature and art is nothing less than the revelation of spirit to spirit. The joy that comes to me from the contemplation of a beautiful object is primarily due to the discovery in the object of another mind which is capable of forming ideals such as I am capable of forming, and of expressing them in such a way that I feel the throb of a kindred spirit. When I survey the starry heavens and take in even a fraction of the beauty there expressed, the emotion of delight arises within me because I am so made that I can form some sort of an ideal of such a combination of objects, and enter into relationship with the infinite mind that created them. I have the same experience, only in a less degree, when I stand before the masterpieces of Raphael and Michel Angelo. The delight that comes to me arises from finding myself enveloped, as it were, in their lofty thoughts.

One of the striking facts about all beautiful objects and the joy that comes to us from contact with them, is that instead of wishing to conceal them from the sight of others, we long to have as many as possible know of their existence. We want everybody to have the same delightful experience with them that we have had. No one who is capable of appreciating a thing of beauty wants to destroy it, but to preserve it as a joy forever to himself and all his fellows.

The emotions of a scientific man when at their climax urge him to cry out with Archimedes, "Eureka, Eureka," to all within his call. Those of the ethical man keep him ever on the alert for the plaudit, "Well done, good and faithful servant." But the emotions of beauty hold their possessor transfixed with a quiet all-absorbing joy. The mission of a man of science is to pick things to pieces in order to find out how they are made,

and he has the joy of his reward. The student of ethics sets forth the goal of future endeavor, and points out the means of attaining it, and he has his reward. But he who deals with the beautiful brings his works with him, and places them on exhibition before you. If you actually acquaint yourself with them and take in their meaning, you commune with their author as friend communes with friend.

Genuine beauty in all its forms, being based upon the recognition of ideal perfection in some concrete act or object, is not to be confounded with agreeableness or usefulness, much less with mere wonder or surprise. The beautiful is the agreeable, but the reverse is not always true. A bed or easy chair may be very agreeable to a weary man, but they are not beautiful for that reason. The same thing may be said of a hungry man's experience with a big plate of baked beans or a hot mutton chop. Sweet things are agreeable to some persons and sour to others. Education makes little if any difference in these matters, but it does immensely affect one's appreciation of the beautiful in nature and art. Nearly all of the beautiful things around us constantly escape our notice for lack of a mind cultured enough to detect them.

Useful things exist to serve some ulterior end, but things of beauty are an end in themselves. The cobbler forms his shoes into this shape and that in order to have somebody wear them. The baker makes his bread and cakes in order that somebody may devour them. But Michel Angelo carved his *Moses* out of a rough block of marble simply to give perpetual joy and delight to all beholders who have mental development enough to catch the inspiration of the divine thought that he endeavored to convey.

Wonder and surprise at the unexpected and the extraordinary are perfectly legitimate emotions. Every one has experienced them who has witnessed the performances of a juggler or gazed at some monstrosity in a dime museum. But they are not emotions of the beautiful. They often accompany such emotions, because our observation of the beautiful things about us is so rare that we are usually filled with surprise when one is discovered. But if we were thoroughly attuned to the thoughts that the universe is capable of expressing, we should never be surprised by the unexpected. The freshness and eagerness with which we should enjoy every new object of beauty would not, however, be diminished, but greatly enhanced thereby.

Least of all should the emotion arising from the contemplation of the beautiful be confounded with mere excitement. Under certain conditions good dramas and novels have a decidedly elevating influence upon our minds and lives. A drama is essentially a play, and, like the play of children, is a representation of a life higher than our own; and just as children get pleasure and enjoyment by imagining themselves engaged in the pursuits of men and women, so may works of art in the form of a good drama or novel give us a vision of life that will greatly enlarge our conceptions of heroism, and of beauty and grace. But when these are read or witnessed on the stage merely for the excitement of the moment, simply to have the feelings wrought up to their highest intensity, the mind loses all its power for æsthetic enjoyment, and soon becomes a hopeless victim of the intoxication habit. In such a condition nothing but a blood-and-thunder novel or a bull-fight will suffice.

The close relationship of all genuine æsthetic emo-

tion to the sublime needs here to be pointed out, and cannot be too strongly emphasized. In fact, sublimity is the same as beauty, only it is beauty greatly expanded or enlarged. When a beautiful scene unfolds itself beyond our capacity to comprehend it and leads us up to the infinite, it is something more than grand—it is sublime. Any object, however trivial, may lead us to the sublime, if we are capable of comprehending its significance. For every door, however small, opens into the Infinite. A pebble on the seashore ordinarily attracts little attention, but if we reflect upon the titanic forces that have conspired through countless ages and with ceaseless persistency to produce it, we cannot help being stirred in some degree by the sublimity of the thought. A moonlit night on the Acropolis is beautiful, but the thought of all the starry hosts of heaven, arranged system upon system, with their immense distances and masses, all moving in accord with a common law, suggests an ideal that the imagination of man finds it impossible to portray. All one can do is to stand with head uncovered in the very presence of the Infinite. When the emotion of beauty rises into sublimity, as in such an experience as this, the mind cannot help being filled with awe and reverence for a greatness that transcends all finite powers.

This exposition of the fundamental nature of beauty makes the relation of the fine arts to religion a most vital one, and the soundness of this view is strikingly confirmed by an appeal to history. For art and religion are both as old as civilization itself, and their connection can be traced in many countries and under conditions most diverse. We always find that they spring up together, that they develop together, and that they decline together. A brief survey of the

origin and history of the principal fine arts will make this evident.

Architecture is not only the most elementary of the fine arts, but it is also, so far as relics go, much the oldest. The only works of man in far distant ages that have been able to survive the ravages of time are the temples of the gods and the tombs of kings, their supposed ambassadors. The ruins of these first concrete expressions of the religious ideas and sentiments of the people are found in almost every part of the globe.

Some of the most important of these ruins are in the valley of the Nile. The solid limestone pyramids of Ghizeh are still among the most colossal works of man ; that of Cheops covering an area of thirteen acres and reaching a height of four hundred and eighty feet. These royal shrines date as far back as 3500 B.C., and are in marked contrast with the abodes of the people, which were probably but one or two stories in height, and built of wood and sunburnt brick. The two great architectural caverns of surpassing magnificence at Ipsambul cut in the solid rock are the remains of temples, and so are the colossal ruins at Karnak. In Assyria, as in Egypt, the most ancient structures are temples, some of them dating back, according to our best scholars, much beyond 2000 B.C. The first great permanent structure in Jewish history was Solomon's temple, dating about 1000 B.C.

Although the beginnings of Greek architecture are veiled in obscurity, its most ancient ruins now extant are the temple at Corinth, erected about 650 B. C., and the temple at Selinus, in Sicily, of the same period. The great classic models of architecture of to-day are the temples of Zeus at Olympia and of Athene on the Acropolis, to say nothing of the Parthenon and others

of lesser note scattered here and there over Greece. The Romans were not an original people. In their early history they followed the Etruscans, to whom they owe the arch and vault. Later, Greek artists took possession of the field, and the Pantheon of Agrippa is the noblest of their works.

The oldest remains of the fine arts in China and India are temples and pagodas. In the new world the oldest as well as the best specimens of native art are the architectural ruins among the Mayas of Central America. Of these Dr. Brinton, probably the highest authority on such matters, does not hesitate to say that "there is no doubt but that the destination of most of these structures was for religious or ceremonial purposes, and not as dwellings."

When the early Christians were permitted to erect suitable places of worship for themselves, a new architecture, based upon the basilica, sprang into being. It is known as the Byzantine architecture, and it reached its culmination about the middle of the sixth century in the church at Constantinople dedicated by Justinian to the Divine Wisdom, now miscalled St. Sophia. This is "by many considered to be internally the most beautiful church ever erected" (A. D. F. Hamlin). The famous St. Mark's Cathedral at Venice, modelled after the Church of the Apostles at Constantinople long ago demolished by the Mohammedans, is another brilliant example of the Byzantine style.

As Christianity spread through western and northern Europe, another form of architecture was developed to meet its growing needs. Though varying in details according to locality, it is marked by certain common characteristics to which the name of *romanesque* is now applied. The Lombard churches of northern

Italy, the magnificent abbeys of the Rhenish provinces, and the cathedrals at Durham, Peterborough, and St. Albans, in England, are among the best products of this style.

Later, when enthusiasm for a still worthier expression of the religious sentiments of the age made its appearance, romanesque architecture was developed into the gothic. The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries became the cathedral era *par éminence*. For nothing like it has ever been seen in history, or is likely to be. The works of this period still remain the masterpieces of modern architecture,—such as the cathedrals of Amiens, of Rouen, of Rheims in France ; of Milan and Assisi in Italy ; of Toledo and Seville in Spain ; of Strassburg and Cologne in Germany ; and of Lincoln and Salisbury in England.

The gothic cathedral in its infinite diversity of details was a miniature representation of the heaven of the medieval imagination. Even hobgoblins, vampires, and other denizens of the lower world were pressed into service as waterspouts to show that devils also must contribute, however unwillingly, to the glory of the Most High. Many persons competent to have an opinion upon the subject would fully agree with Comte, a great opponent of Christianity, when he says : “The ideas and feelings of man’s moral nature have never found so perfect expression in form as they found in the noble cathedrals of catholicism.” The highest specimens of architecture in our own day in all lands are not theatres, or public halls, or private dwellings, but temples and churches, and it would certainly be a mark of great degeneration if such should cease to be the case in the future.

When we turn to sculpture, we find that it originated

in the same way as architecture, and has had a similar history. Its first office was to embellish and adorn the abodes of the gods. The earliest sculpture known to history is perhaps that found in the ancient temples and shrines of Egypt, and the clumsy massive strength that characterizes it is derived from the sombre stolidity of the religion that it attempts to represent. Assyrian and Babylonish sculpture has similar characteristics and for the same reason. It is formal, conventional, and symbolic, lacking in subtlety and progressive development.

But the Greeks had a decidedly different conception of their deities, and this accounts for the fact that their sculpture took on such varied and elastic forms. They thought of their gods as social beings like themselves, and lived on familiar terms with them. Everywhere before their time the gods were largely the product of superstitious fears, and the source of a multitude of malign influences that must be evaded or doggedly endured. To the Greeks these superhuman beings are most enjoyable personalities, having all the powers and attractions imaginable to man. Hence their ideals of them were their highest poetic creations, and they freely endeavored to depict them with all possible skill and grace. As another expresses it, "The freedom of Homer in poetry became the freedom of Phidias in sculpture."

A Greek statue was not an idol to be valued simply for its sanctity, but a real work of art to be admired for its inherent beauty. This is why the Greeks went so imperceptibly from the divine to the human, from the gods of Olympia to the victors of the Isthmian games. They understood and felt the beautiful so keenly that wherever they found it, whether in gods, or

men, or even animals, they identified it with the divine.

Nor were they so sensuous in their sculpture as those that came after them, or so fond of the nude as is commonly supposed. To them Venus was not a symbol of voluptuousness, but the combined expression of wisdom and love. Careful students tell us that among them "fifty works in drapery were found for every nude statue." After two thousand years they still remain unrivalled for such marvellous representations of their gods and goddesses as the *Zeus* and *Pallas* by Phidias, the *Venus de Medici*, probably copied from Praxiteles, the *Niobe* group by Scopas, the *Farnese Bull* and the *Torso of Hercules* by Apollonius, not to mention such masterpieces as the *Venus de Milo* and the *Apollo Belvedere*.

The Romans, because they conceived of their gods less vividly and felt their influence less keenly, failed for the most part as sculptors, and were chiefly dependent upon the Greeks. Occasionally an Emperor like Hadrian appeared who had a genuine appreciation of sculpture, and did what he could to cultivate it; but every effort was powerless to stay its general decline, and by the time of Constantine it had lost its former glory.

Then for a thousand years, although Christianity had gained control of the civilization and power of the world, sculpture remained quiescent, because the religion of that period opposed everything that pertained to the ancients, and made such a distinction between the divine and the human that all art of every kind was robbed of its nobleness and power. Only scenes of suffering, of ascetic privation, of voluntary torture, were regarded as proper objects of religious contemplation.

But when these views began to give way to more rational conceptions of the relation of man to God and of this world to the world to come, the era of cathedral building broke out with unwonted power, and sculpture was again called back into service. To it was assigned the work of ornamenting altars and pulpits and screens, and of devising all sorts of figures for the appropriate embellishment of capitals, portals, and façades.

As the knowledge of ancient art increased, the church called for the highest qualities of workmanship in this art. Nicola Pisano carved his remarkable pulpits at Pisa and Siena ; Lorenzo Ghiberti wrought his famous gates for the baptistery at Florence ; Donatello produced his *Annunciation* in the Church of Santa Croce ; and Michel Angelo, the first pre-eminent representative of modern sculpture, brought out his *Moses*, his *David*, and his monuments to the Medici. Since Angelo's time the most notable works, like those of Canova, for example, have been mythological in their character, or monuments embodying some religious ideal. Even Thorwaldsen has been rightly called a "posthumous Greek."

Sculpture to-day gets its chief inspiration directly or indirectly from the religious masterpieces of the past, and it is not at all likely that any high art in this direction will appear in the future that sets them at naught. A piece of sculpture, even of an animal or a flower, must represent what we believe a god would think of it, if it is going to satisfy the intellect and delight the heart.

Although painting in its developed form is one of the more modern of the fine arts, yet like sculpture it first arose in connection with ancient architecture, and for many centuries it was almost wholly employed in decorating tombs and temples. The ancient Egyptians

colored everything, even hard stones like granite and basalt. The remains of painting in Babylonia and Assyria are very scanty, and so they are among the Greeks, but it is not generally supposed that they carried the art to a high degree of excellence, although some glowing eulogies of their work have come down to us from their contemporaries.

During the decline of the Roman Empire, the early Christians were the only ones to manifest any vital interest in this art. They began to develop it in the catacombs, their subterranean places of worship, the walls of which they covered with rudely delineated images of the fish, the anchor, and the cup. For several centuries after the time of Constantine their work in mosaics had considerable merit. Painting during the Byzantine Empire is chiefly known to us in illuminated manuscripts.

In the Middle Ages painting on the walls of churches was common, but it was mainly decorative in character. Not until after the great era of cathedral building of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries did painting reach a high degree of perfection. And the chief thing that brought it forward was the great demand for the proper adornment of churches, monasteries, oratories, and other buildings devoted to religious uses. The universal feeling was that every altar must have an altar-piece, every chapel must be embellished with illustrations of the life and miracles of the saint to whom it was dedicated, every refectory must have a picture of the Last Supper.

Some of the forerunners of this movement were Cimabue, Giotto, and Fra Angelico, but it reached the full tide of its power in such works as the paintings of the Sistine Chapel by Michel Angelo, the *Transfigura-*

tion by Raphael in the Vatican palace, and Leonardo da Vinci's *Last Supper* at Milan.

The unrivalled pre-eminence of these masters is due not only to the fact that they possessed unusual technical skill, and exercised great freedom and boldness in the formation of their ideals, but chiefly because they clung tenaciously to the loftiest subjects that could engage their powers. The relations of the human to the divine inspired their imagination and persistently absorbed their thought. Murillo painted the Immaculate Conception twenty-five times before he was willing permanently to abandon the theme. Raphael's *Sistine Madonna* at Dresden is said to be the fortieth in a list of forty-eight, but who can ever look upon this marvellous representation of the Virgin Mother and her wondrous child without being stirred to the depths of his being with the emotions of gratitude and awe?

Painting, like any other art, can degenerate. Nor is it always used to ennoble and inspire. There are acres of canvas in the galleries of Europe that have anything but an uplifting and spiritualizing influence. Painting has often been the servile minister of superstition and lust, the lust debasing the superstition, and the superstition sanctifying the lust. Such are nearly all the representations of the nude in art in our day. For no one in modern society is accustomed to see virtue and nobleness exhibited in such a state, or would take delight in beholding a member of his family or any one he loved and admired held up to public gaze void of appropriate attire. What wonder that copies of such paintings speedily find their way to drinking saloons and haunts of vice?

It is the mission of the painter not merely to paint, but to paint something that is worthy of continued con-

temptation, that inspires noble and lofty thoughts. It does not matter so much what the object painted is, as how the painter causes the beholder to regard it. Landseer has taught the world that animal life represented in its true spirit is far nobler, far more divine, than higher life portrayed with only moderate power. Every visible scene and object can be regarded approximately as God regards it, and when we see it so depicted by the artist, we commune with God by sharing with him one of his thoughts. Only thus can any art be brought to reveal its true glory, and mankind be perpetually inspired and blessed thereby.

Music in its most elementary form probably originated in the rhythmic marking of time for the dance at a religious festival in honor of some god or goddess. For untold centuries it made little or no progress, and only within the last three or four hundred years has it actually become a fine art and reached a high degree of development. All historical records and still existing monuments of antiquity show that architecture, sculpture, and painting rose practically to the climax of their power long before music attained any special eminence. It remained an enigma, even to the most brilliant periods of ancient civilization and intellectual culture. Not till near the close of the Middle Ages did any master mind appear to reveal its long hidden beauties or discover and systematize its fundamental truths.

As a matter of fact, the demand for music of a high order was not called into being until the magnificent cathedrals had been completed, and their niches and altar-pieces had been properly adorned. Then a mighty longing arose for a voice that could translate all this sublimity into sound, and utter its aspirations in a

manner befitting the place and the new conditions. The bell-chimes from the tower, however sweet and far-reaching they might be, were only a call to prayer. Something else must be found that would give appropriate expression to the prayer itself.

Such a medium was discovered in the organ. Consequently it was greatly enlarged in its proportions and powers. Soon vaulted roof and clustered column and storied wall, even the very crypt itself, were resounding with a symphony of sweet sounds to the glory of the Almighty. In connection with the organ, all known musical instruments were called into requisition, and others invented to swell the volume of praise and adoration. Every form of musical composition was carried to its highest perfection to satisfy, if possible, the religious requirements of the age.

Music in the service of religion has passed through four stages :—1. The rhythmic, like that of the Indian war-dance of to-day ; 2. The melodic, made up of variations upon a single theme, like the music of the Oriental and Asiatic nations of ancient and modern times ; 3. The harmonic, consisting of several co-existing melodies, which chiefly characterized the music of the Middle Ages ; and 4. The symphonic, a succession of harmonies with constantly varying themes, the music of the most highly cultured nations of our own time. It is the opinion of many that this development has already been carried so far as to leave little room for further discovery either in its scientific principles or practical application, but of the truthfulness of this position there is room for doubt.

Music is the art of sensibility par excellence. In modern times it has become an instrument of overpowering significance. " Music," says Haweis, " is

pre-eminently the art of the nineteenth century, because it is in a supreme manner responsive to the emotional wants, the mixed aspirations, and the passive self-consciousness of the age" (*Music and Morals*, p. 1). It is peculiarly the disinterested art, and that fact qualifies it for its high religious mission, making it so essential to the adequate expression of reverential awe, heartfelt thanksgiving, and genuine praise.

At the same time it has to be admitted that music, just because it is capable of traversing the entire keyboard of our desires, may be employed to arouse base and sensual ambitions as well as those that elevate and inspire. It is hardly too much to say with another that "it can be impressed with equal felicity in the service of church or tavern." Nevertheless, its great masters have always been those who have used it as a powerful, uplifting influence, who have evoked its aid to elevate our thoughts and feelings to the Infinite. Otherwise, the Bachs, the Handels, the Haydens, the Beethovens, the Chopins, and the Brahmses of history would not be ranked with the Michel Angelos, the Raphaels, the Dantes, the Miltons, and the Tennysons as among the great ennobling forces of the world.

The beginnings of poetry in all probability first showed themselves, as with music, in connection with the rhythmic motions of the religious dance. It is almost inevitable that words uttered in accompaniment to the dance should partake of its rhythmic character. So far as all historic records go, the oldest forms of literature of any considerable extent in all languages were odes to the gods. At these primitive religious festivals all the principal forms of poetry were gradually developed. The epic poem recounted the doings of the gods and the exploits of heroic men, their chief

earthly representatives. The lyric poem gave voice to the thoughts and feelings that these mighty acts inspired. The drama set forth in vivid and concrete form for the edification of the beholders some particular series of events in which the gods played the principal rôles, and thus displayed their superior wisdom and power.

It is no exaggeration to say that out of these humble beginnings have arisen all of the great poetic compositions of the world. The Rig-Veda consists chiefly of hymns to the gods, and is the foundation upon which the Mahabharata, the great epic of the Hindus, is based. The Iliad of Homer had a similar origin. It gathers up all the great features of the polytheistic faith of the ancient Greeks, and was treated by them with all the reverence of Holy Writ. Vergil's *Æneid* performed a like mission for the ancient Romans. Milton's *Paradise Lost* and Dante's *Divine Comedy* grew up under similar conditions, and still remain the great standard epics of modern times. No more recent poet has felt equal to the task of surpassing them, and, besides, the novel has in our day usurped their place in the popular demand.

When we turn to lyric poetry, we find nothing in any language that can compare with the psalms and hymns of the Christian church for awakening in man profound emotions and arousing lofty thoughts. And this has been true of the hymns of every religion in every age of the world, and in every stage of civilization. The historic fact is that both tragedy and comedy originated in connection with the worship of the god Dionysus, the frivolity of the latter being the natural reaction from the seriousness of the former. The very term, tragedy, comes from the Greek word

for goat, and arose either from the fact that a goat was sacrificed at the festivals of this god, or because the actors who danced around the altar chanting songs in his honor partially clad themselves in the skins of this animal. The great tragic poets of the ancient world, as Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, took such high subjects as Prometheus Bound, the punishment of Œdipus, and the sacrifice of Iphigenia for their themes. For nothing less than the doings of a god, or some other being elevated above the level of humanity, could stir their powers to their best effort, or satisfy the demands of those who were to listen to and criticise their products.

The Athenian tragedy was not a mere amusement, but a serious religious function. Aristotle says in his *Poetics* that its mission was to purify the passions of pity and fear, as he thought this was the natural reaction from seeing them carried to excessive indulgence on the stage. It not only originated in a popular religious festival, but it became the vehicle of the deepest religious thoughts and ideals of the people. When it ceased to fulfil this function, it lost its vitality, and disappeared as an important factor in their lives.

No drama in our own day attains a high degree of excellence that does not appeal to that in man which is above himself, and in some effective way arouse his ambition to act in a manner worthy of a being possessed of godlike powers. Shakespeare, Goethe, Schiller, Racine, and others who attained great eminence in this art in their day, held undisputed sway over the minds of men, because they depicted in a masterful manner the eternal value of truth and righteousness, the corner-stones of religion, to the welfare and happi-

ness of man. And this remains to-day the secret of their continued supremacy in this field.

Thus we see that the actual history of the fine arts teaches us the common lesson that they all spring out of man's powers to search for ideal perfection, and that their mission is to elevate him to the divine. So long as the human soul yearns after the perfect and the infinite, so long it will seek to embody its ideals in the forms of art. The seriously-minded Puritan scowled upon the beautiful as a lovely devil, because he thought it the enemy of religion. He did not see that it is in reality its handmaid and friend. In point of fact, there is no high art without religion, and no high development of religion without art. For art is the high priest of nature, and nature is the manifestation of the divine.

Art is the concrete expression of some of God's thoughts, as they are suggested to us in the things that are made. It is, therefore, indispensable to man in his effort to understand the meaning of the universe. Without it he cannot see the harmony there is in it, or realize in any effective way its rational purpose. If we were fully attuned to the beauty that lies all about us, revelation would be as natural as breathing. "The whole thought of art," says Phillips Brooks, "must be enlarged and mellowed, till it develops a relation to the spiritual and moral natures, as well as the senses of mankind."

We should never speak of art for art's sake, but of art for man's sake, to acquaint him with the actual meaning of things, and bring him into conscious and joyful accord with his Maker.

CHAPTER V.

RELIGION THE KEY TO HISTORY.

✓ GUIZOT on one of the first pages of his *History of Civilization* makes the following remarkable assertion :
“ At all times, in all countries, religion has assumed the glory of having civilized the people.” To what extent and in what sense this is a true statement it is the purpose of this chapter to point out.

In the first place we need to note that the time has gone by when we can speak of the history of religion as something distinct from general history. This view has always had many advocates. It was held by Eusebius, the father of church history. Augustine taught it in his great work, *The City of God*, and the position was universally maintained by the churches of ancient and medieval times.

The Catholic churches of our own day still regard it as the correct view. God, they maintain, has endowed his people with an infallible doctrine, has placed over them infallible leaders, and has established a course of action that is to go on unchanged to the end of time. They admit, to be sure, that the church is not wholly out of relation to the rest of history, but they insist that its affairs are affected by secular history only in the most casual and superficial way, agitating at times perhaps its outermost borders, but never extending to its centre or core.

Nor did the Protestants of the sixteenth century in

reality give up this view. They rejected, it is true, the idea that the external rites and government of the church are of supernatural origin. But the spiritual church, which they made so much of, the church within, they regarded as in a special sense divine. They recognized two distinct kinds of events in the world, just as the ultra-orthodox do in the Protestant churches of to-day, the miraculous and non-miraculous, the supernatural and the natural, the sacred and the profane. This universe to them was not what it is to the thinkers of to-day, one great and orderly universe,—what Sir Oliver Lodge calls “a single undeviating law-saturated cosmos.” They had no inkling of the thought that all of the events of history are regulated according to the one principle of unity and uniformity, and that there is no possible ground for regarding them as two-fold.

“It was in the seventeenth century,” says Prof. Harnack in his address at the St. Louis Exposition in 1904, “that certain enlightened spirits first shook off this wrong notion. The eighteenth century further developed the knowledge thus won ; in the nineteenth it was partly obscured again, but in the end it held its own. We can now say : The history of the Church is part and parcel of universal history, and can be understood only in connection with it.” Our real inquiry, then, is, what is this connection? How has the religious element in history affected the other elements, and how is it likely to affect them in the future?

History, as the term is used in our day, is concerned with all the past doings and experiences of man. It traces out the rise and progress of culture and civilization in all its various branches. But in the narrower sense it confines itself to the ongoings of nations. It

deals with their internal progress and their mutual relations. In other words, it is identical with political history. It is chiefly in this sense that the term is used here. For, as another has well said, "on the way in which men are formed into communities everything else that happens and all development depends." Our inquiry then is, what effect has religion had upon the growth and expansion of the body-politic in the past, and what have we every reason to expect will be its influence in the future?

As far back as we can trace the internal development of any tribe or nation, we always find that to renounce the gods of the country was equivalent to giving up all allegiance to that country. In Babylonia and in Egypt it was not thought possible for a foreigner to become a citizen, but in Greece, where it could sometimes be done, the most important act leading to it was the adoption of the worship of the Greek gods. In case one country subdued another, it was assumed that the god of the conquering country had adopted into his family the god of the people conquered. This extension of territory by a nation did not, however, do away with the local worship or affect the position of the gods who presided over the destinies of other nations.

When the Assyrians subjugated the kingdom of Israel and deported great numbers of its inhabitants, the colonists who were sent to take their places did not bring their Assyrian cult with them, but sought out the protection and care of Jahveh or Jehovah, the god of the place. In all the conquests of the Romans, they regarded the religions of the countries they conquered as permanent institutions, and did not consider it as within their mission to disturb local ceremonies and rites.

The first people to refuse to adopt the religion of

the country in which they found themselves were the ancient Hebrews. When they were deported to Babylonia, many of them still kept up the worship of Jahveh. This was the beginning of a new and larger conception of religion,—namely, that it was superior to and could not be upset by changes in locality or political condition. The Jewish people were, to be sure, slow in adopting this conception. It was a great shock to them when told by Isaiah and Jeremiah that Jahveh could survive the destruction of the Holy City and would even help in its downfall if his people continued in their sins. For many centuries the majority of the Hebrews clung to the idea that a religious life was inseparably connected with political organization. It was not until the coming in of Christianity that the idea of the universal character of religion began to prevail.

But even Christianity could not practically carry out its theory that religion is superior to all forms of political organization. When it became the official religion of the Roman Empire, the old idea of the inseparable union of religion with political organization came vigorously to the front, and never in ancient times was it carried to greater extremes than during the Middle Ages.

The events of the Protestant Reformation did not essentially change this situation. Luther disbelieved in the political claims of the church of his day, as well as in the religious claims of monastic life, but in their place he strongly advocated the inalienable and divine right of princes and kings. He regarded it as the chief mission of the civil power to wrest from the papacy its usurped prerogatives and take them to itself. Both by temper and by circumstances he was a strong supporter of the divine authority of those who rule.

“Luther,” says the *Cambridge Modern History*

(vol. iv., p. 741), "not only did not arrest, he actively assisted the development of the princely authority ; he asserted its divine ordination and universal competence ; he proclaimed the duty of enduring tyranny as God's punishment for sins ; nor can it be said that he showed any sympathy for representative institutions. A compact territory governed by a religious autocrat, with family life well ordered, was his ideal."

For two centuries after the outbreak of the Reformation, politics continued to become more and more theocratic. The undue value attached to the Old Testament was chiefly the cause of it. Even Grotius interpreted the passage in the fifty-first Psalm : "Against thee, thee only, have I sinned," as clear proof of the irresponsibility of kings.

The uprising of the peasants and the temporary success of the Anabaptists at Münster compelled the reformers to take the extreme view that the church, as a visibly organized body, was merely a necessary evil. The state was to them the one divine institution, and damnation was the penalty for attempting to resist it. Their purpose was by no means to minimize religion or to make it play a secondary part to politics. On the contrary, their chief motive was to exalt it. What they desired to do was to overthrow the existing form of religion, and they took the most efficient way in their time of doing it.

They had no thought of grounding the state upon the doctrine of Hobbes, that the natural condition of man is that of incessant war ; that only a "leviathan power" could stay the clash of individual wills and thus bring peace and order out of chaos. Nor did they agree with Machiavelli, whose ideal prince was Cesare Borgia, maintaining himself by any means in his power,

regardless of the welfare of his subjects or the principles of morality. Their standard was that of the theocratic kings of the Old Testament. And every monarch who did not carry out their views, they denounced as doing evil in the sight of God, and not good. All their political doctrines were adopted in order to enlarge what they considered to be the true sphere of religion, not to belittle its power.

Interesting and valuable illustrations of how religion lay at the foundation of all the struggles of this period for the supremacy of the state are found in Catholic lands, as well as in Protestant. When the Doge of Venice, in the early years of the seventeenth century, started out to arrest canons of the church for flagrant immoralities, to limit the number of churches, to pass laws restraining gifts in mortmain and the like, Pope Paul V. placed the country under a ban and excommunicated the Doge and the Senate. This he did on the ground that by the sacred doctrine of the "plenitude of power" of the Pope, priests were supreme over princes. But the Venetians rose up in their might and vigorously asserted "the natural right given by God to the state." The result was that Pope Paul had eventually to give way, and from that day to this the efforts of his successors to re-establish themselves as king of kings and lord of lords have been for naught.

Most of the early reformers carried their doctrine of the divine right of kings to such an extreme that they freely admitted not only the right but the duty of sovereigns to persecute. The Religious Peace of Augsburg, made in 1555, gave to each prince the right to choose between the Roman Catholic faith and the Augsburg Confession, and to expel those of his subjects who differed from him in religion. That is, each

government was empowered to choose the creed of its subjects, and no one in any matter was ever to resist a legitimate monarch. Nearly a hundred years elapsed before this position was modified by the regulations which were finally adopted at the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.

As time went on there came almost everywhere to be found larger or smaller bodies of people who professed a form of religion different from that of their sovereign. Their leaders naturally betook themselves to the discussion of such questions as the following : Are subjects in duty bound to obey their rulers when their commands are contrary to the laws of God ? Should a sovereign be resisted who is planning to abrogate the laws of God and demolish the church ? Ought the rulers of adjoining countries to help the subjects of another if they are being persecuted for their religion or are being continually subjected to vicious maltreatment by a tyrant ?

It was also out of discussions such as these that the doctrine of Original Contract was developed, to which as a transition theory to the position of to-day the whole modern world is indebted far more deeply than is commonly supposed. According to this view it was maintained that there are in every state two contracts ; one God makes with the king that He will give prosperity to the nation over which the King rules provided it serves God and does not worship idols. The second is between the king and the people. They agree to submit to his rule so long as he gives them a good government, and only so long.

Before this theory was developed out of the religious exigencies of the age, no right to rebel under any conditions was recognized. Sovereigns were supposed to

make any laws they pleased and to be released from any duty to keep their promises. The only recourse was to prayers and tears. From this time on, resistance to tyrants began to be regarded as a justifiable act, and a series of revolutions was started affecting two continents which made possible the political freedom of our day. Thus it came about that "religion alone gave the leverage to liberty, which otherwise would have perished in the development of the central power."

It is easy for us in our time to see the defects in this theory of Original Contract, and we repudiate it as we do the theory of the divine right of kings. Both these theories were necessary when they arose, and they furnish the connecting link between the ideas of the medieval and modern world. The latter carried the source of all authority and power back to God; the former prepared the way for the doctrine that God has so made this world that all earthly sovereignty reposes in the people as a body-politic and not in any priest or king.

Only as men have changed their ideas regarding their fundamental relations to God and been moved by motives that appeal chiefly to conscience have they been willing to make the sacrifices necessary to achieve freedom of religious belief, and it is simply a fact of history that religious freedom always precedes political freedom. "Religious liberty," says the *Cambridge Modern History* (vol. iii., p. 769), "is rightly described as the parent of political. . . . It was only the religious earnestness, the confessional conflicts, and the persecuting spirit of the sixteenth century, that kept alive political liberty, and saved it from a collapse more universal than that which befell Republican ideals at

the beginning of the Roman Empire. To the spiritual intensity of the Reformers and the doctrinal exclusiveness of the confessions—at once the highest and the lowest expressions of the theological age—we owe the combination of liberty with order which is our most cherished possession to-day.”

Andrew D. White, so long our distinguished ambassador to Berlin, in his recently published *Autobiography* (vol. ii., p. 226) assigns the first place among the forces that have contributed to the wonderful advance of Germany as a nation within the last fifty years to “her religious inheritance.” This it is that “gives the best stimulus and sustenance to the better aspirations of her people.” Writing in another chapter (vol. ii., p. 439) about his interview with Tricoupis, the prime minister of Greece, he clearly approves of Tricoupis’s assertion that modern Greece owes her political independence to religion. It was the church, he said, that kept alive the language and nationality of the people during the long years of Turkish rule.

According to Guizot, democracy was first introduced into Europe by the foreign missionary Paul. But it took many centuries to give it concrete expression in any effective way. Not until the people of France had successfully carried out their repeated revolutions against arbitrary monarchical institutions backed up by equally arbitrary ecclesiastical authority, and the United States, stimulated by their example, had successfully thrown off its oppressive yoke, do we have the beginning of modern popular government. The so-called separation of church and state that was then effected destroyed the legal authority of religion, but greatly increased its moral power.

Judge Simeon E. Baldwin, in his address as President

of the American Historical Association for 1906, emphasizes the fact that the relation of religion to history has greatly changed since the overturning of the order of things that prevailed at the close of the eighteenth century. "But," he adds, "its strength remains the same. Once that strength was largely found in the power of an established church, or of a sentiment in opposition to an established church. Now it is coming more from the force of the principles for which, at bottom, churches stand, in influencing public opinion."

A few of the people in a nation, even among the leaders, may for a time be indifferent to religion, but the whole people never will be. In our day public opinion holds the place of power; and among all the forces that contribute to the formation of public opinion, religion holds the first place, as it always has held it. Any plan or purpose that fails to receive the sanction of the religious ideas of the time will not go on unopposed and cannot permanently prosper. A policy that is clearly in accord with the religious sentiments of a people is at once accepted and approved. Public opinion under such conditions will find a way to express itself, which no party machinery can successfully resist.

Religion is a large subject, and may be viewed from many different standpoints. The word signifies more than can be expressed in any single sentence. In a general way it designates one's conception of what is proper in a superhuman system of things. Hence its meaning must constantly vary with the changing knowledge and experiences of the individual. If a person's intellectual development is meagre and his vision narrow, his religion will be also. Two savages differ little in their religious notions. Their daily routine is almost

identically the same, and their mental horizon scarcely reaches beyond their cabins. The starry heavens is not the starry heavens to them, and the voice of conscience receives only now and then a passing recognition. Hence they usually regard the unseen beings above them merely as arbitrary, inconstant powers, whose favor is to be obtained or ill-will averted by the use of magical charms.

As knowledge increases and the experiences of men enlarge, some reaching out in one direction and some in another of this vast universe, the material that different individuals gather together out of which to construct their religious ideals varies enormously, and there should always be ample room made for this difference. Strict agreement is out of the question except in the savage state of development, and the more people progress the greater will be the variety of their religious beliefs. Any religious system that cannot make room for this variety cannot permanently endure.

All the progressive nations of the world in the past have changed the form of their religion with changing conditions, and this is what is taking place among the progressive nations of to-day. The fundamental motive of religion does not change, nor does it end. The religious element in man is an essential part of his nature. Education does not give it, and education cannot take it away. It is universal and abiding. No man can think of himself as unrelated to something higher and stronger than himself. He may call this something God or Nature, or designate it by any other term he chooses. Still he cannot help giving his relation to it a dominant place in his history. His views pro or con on the subject, whether we consider him as an

individual or as a member of the state, have always vitally affected his conduct and always will.

“Convince the mass of any people,” says Judge Baldwin in the address above referred to, “that a change of custom or of law, or no change of custom or law; that a war or no war; the maintenance of an ancient policy or the substitution of another; the support of an existing government or its overthrow, is demanded by duty to God, and you have a motive of action that is likely to prove irresistible.”

It is a universally observed fact that women are far more interested in religion than men, and far more affected by its influence. The reason for this is that they are by nature less self-centred and self-satisfied than men. They are far more eager than men are to place themselves under the protecting care of some higher and stronger power. Even when happily married and securely established in a house of their own they tend far more than men do to look upon all the blessings that come to them as gifts from Heaven and to express their gratitude in the worship and service of their lives.

Now when the babe is born into the world, the first person he has consciously to do with is his mother. To her he looks for support and protection, to her he gives his confidence and his love. As he grows into childhood, she is the one who instructs him as to his relations to others and to God. Women have and always will have the early training of the race, and these early religious impressions are never absolutely forgotten. They will at least come to the front in moments of deepest feeling and supreme effort.

As the influence of women increases in matters of education and they come to take a larger interest in

public affairs, religious considerations will have a corresponding increase in the state. Men will pay more heed to them in their own conduct and in their relations to their fellows. They will more strenuously favor what the religious sentiments of the family approve, and withhold their support from what those sentiments condemn.

The third volume of the *Cambridge Modern History*, following the one on the Reformation, is entitled "The Wars of Religion." But, as everybody must admit, the wars of religion did not by any means end in the seventeenth century. The religious motive in war, Judge Baldwin asserts, "is as strong to-day as it was a thousand years ago." He thinks the downfall of Napoleon III. was chiefly due to ecclesiastical intrigues, and also that the war between Germany and Austria in 1866 was fomented at Rome to check the growth of Protestantism in Europe. The Germans went on from victory to victory at any cost because they believed that they were fighting for God and fatherland. The American Civil War, perhaps the most destructive of men and property in all history, was fought to the bitter end to establish the divine rights of man.

Emperor William of Germany in an address before the naval recruits at Wilhelmshaven declared that the defeats of the Russians in the war with Japan were due to the deplorable condition of Russian Christianity. On the other hand, the Japanese poured out their blood like water because they were fighting for him whom they regarded as their real spiritual leader, as well as earthly sovereign. As another has well said, Admiral Togo's message to the Mikado, attributing the annihilation of the Russian fleet to his superhuman influence, "spoke the real conviction of a great man and a great people."

The religion of Islam rules the heart of every Mohammedan, regardless of his status or locality. At the call of the Sultan of Turkey, the Commander of the Faithful, every Moslem would rush to arms. In a remarkable letter written to Lord Cromer not long ago by one purporting to be a representative of the Egyptian people, the writer extols the wonderful improvement in material affairs wrought by the English in Egypt. But all this, he declares, would count for nothing if the Sultan should once ask for soldiers to fight his cause.

"As men," he says, "we do not love the sons of Osman; the children at the breast know their words, and that they have trodden down the Egyptians like dry reeds. But as Moslems they are our brethren; the Khalif holds the sacred places and the noble relics, though the Khalif were hapless as Bajazid, cruel as Murad, or mad as Ibrahim, he is the shadow of God, and every Moslem must leap up at his call as the willing servant to his master, though the wolf may devour his child while he does his master's work. . . . If it be war, be sure that he who has a sword will draw it, he who has a club will strike with it. The women will cry from the housetops, 'God give victory to Islam.'"

The repeated uprisings of the natives in Morocco in the spring and summer of 1907 alarmed Europe not so much because of their actual violence at the time, but because it was feared that they were the first signs of a vast, volcanic, religious crusade to exterminate the infidels, started by some "real" Mahdi in some oasis of the desert. The New York *Tribune* of August 4th of that year in an editorial on the Casablanca uprising that had occurred the day before said among other things: "That the next holy war whenever it comes will far surpass in bitterness and range the Soudan hostilities of

Mohammedan Ahmed, is firmly believed by many students of Islam. And there are several significant facts warranting this fear; above all others the zeal with which Mohammedan leaders from Morocco to Mindanao have been striving to bring together the thousand warring sects of Islam into one universal organization. This movement has apparently gone far enough to simplify considerably the task that a would-be Mahdi must do. Many sects have hopes that some day a Mahdi, the great successor of the Prophet, will come to lead all true believers in a final triumphant war against the infidels and to divide all the world's wealth equally among the faithful. The good efforts of Pan-Islamists may thus readily be made to help the wildest fanaticism and greed, if only a scoundrel clever enough and fanatical enough arises to lead the hosts. Has such a man arisen? The Western world is not yet sure. Some of England's best advisers on Islamic affairs believe he has already established himself somewhere in the eastern Sahara. Others scoff at this conjecture. But everybody interested either in Islam or the economic development of North Africa hopes that French spies will soon be able to settle definitely the rumors of a Mahdi."

The English have always had a serious problem before them in their efforts to govern India and never was the problem more serious than at present. The main trouble is not to be attributed to harsh and oppressive laws, for these are often acknowledged by the natives to be just and beneficial. The real cause is the difference in religion. Even in those localities where there has been the most striking improvement in material conditions the natives persistently stand aloof from the officials of the government and the most strenuous ef-

forts to win their confidence and good-will are of little avail.

China has remained torpid for two thousand years because of the unprogressive character of its religion. It is now being awakened out of its slumbers by the introduction among the people of truer and saner religious ideals. When President Angell of the University of Michigan returned some years ago from a governmental mission to that country, he said in an address at Detroit: "There is not a foot of railroad in China to-day. There were twelve miles laid but the natives bought it and tore it up; and the troops have had to protect the telegraph which was built while I was there. It all comes of their religious belief. It is not a prejudice against invention; it is because a railroad or a telegraph or a reaping-machine interferes with their most sacred religious beliefs; and you cannot move them one inch until their belief in ancestral worship and Confucianism is shattered to the very base." Since these words were uttered the shattering process has gone on at a rapid pace. Examination in the Confucian classics is no longer required for appointment to public office among the Chinese, and this fact alone marks an immense change in their religious standards.

No intelligent observer will find it difficult to discover the reason why Spain has in recent years become a stagnant nation. In these days of religious enlightenment and progress she still imposes upon her rulers the following coronation oath, even Princess Ena, the niece of King Edward, being obliged to subscribe to it before her marriage to Alphonso could be solemnized, and she could be recognized as his queen: "I, recognizing as true the Catholic and apostolic faith, do hereby publicly anathematize every heresy, especially that to which I have

had the misfortune to belong. I agree with the Holy Roman Church, and profess with mouth and heart my belief in the Apostolic See, and my adhesion to that faith which the Holy Roman Church, the evangelical and apostolic authority, delivers to be held. Swearing this by the sacred Homooousion, or trinity of the same substance, and by the holy gospels of Christ, I do pronounce those worthy of eternal anathema who oppose this faith, with their dogmas and their followers. And should I myself at any time presume to approve or proclaim anything contrary hereto, I will subject myself to the severity of the canon law. So help me God and these His Holy Gospels." With such a religious standard as this for the people, they cannot fail to retrograde. Until loftier and more truthful ideals are set before them advancement is out of the question.

It is a striking fact that try as hard as we may we can make but little progress in gaining the sympathetic interest and trade of our fellow republics in Central and South America. There is plenty of friendly talk indulged in at our Pan-American Congresses. Many projects that would be of great material benefit to all parties are loudly extolled, but few bring forth any visible fruit. Our southern neighbors, although they copy our political ideas, still continue to view us with suspicion. Race differences do not account for it, nor do differences in language. The plain truth is that their church affiliations and ideals dominate their conduct and draw them elsewhere.

Every historical student is well aware of the fact that in the origin and development of international law, religion has always exerted a leading influence. Sir R. Phillimore describes international law as based upon "the consent of nations to things which are

naturally, that is by the law of God, binding upon them."

People were first impelled to come together because of sympathy or fellow-feeling for their kind, not because they were seeking material aid or economic advantage. Giddings, in the preface to a recent edition of his *Principles of Sociology*, insists upon it "that fellow-feeling is a cause in social phenomena and that mutual aid is an effect." He extols Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* as giving the true historical standpoint from which to view human progress rather than *The Wealth of Nations*.

In primitive times men traced their descent from their totemic gods. Those who had the same totem were brothers. All strangers were treated by these groups as enemies, but as soon as one of them found out that another group had the same religion as itself it would unite with it for common worship. Even the Amphictyonic Council among the Greeks had for its chief object the protection of the temple at Delphi. It was for this reason that the deputies of the twelve tribes that composed it bound themselves by oath that "they would not destroy any Amphictyonic city nor cut off its streams in war or peace."

The ideas of the Christian religion have immensely influenced the public law of the world. From their earliest introduction they have been the chief cause of its advancement. It was inevitable that the old doctrine of the natural antipathy of nations should begin to totter when the new idea that God "has made of one blood all nations of men" once obtained a foothold. Cabinets and camps were alike affected by it. The citizen of one state began to recognize in the citizen of another a Christian brother. Many of the bar-

barities that from the earliest times had been practised upon strangers, even the victims of shipwreck being regarded as lawful plunder, soon fell away, and others, which were persisted in in spite of the opposition of the church, were greatly mitigated in severity and number.

As an arbitrator between states, the Pope often exerted a mighty influence for good when all other means had failed. "In an age of force," says Lawrence in his *Essays on Modern International Law* (p. 149), "he introduced into the settlement of international disputes principles of humanity and justice, and had the Roman Curia always acted upon the principles which it invariably proposed, its existence as a great court of international appeal would have been an unmixed benefit." With all its defects, we must still agree with Professor Davis (*Outlines of International Law*, p. 11) when he says that "unquestionably the most powerful influence that was exerted upon the science of international law during its formative period was that of the Roman Church."

The institution of chivalry greatly affected many phases of the laws of war. Its regulations at first applied only to the conduct of knights towards each other, but soon the beneficial effects of the institution were seen in the gentler and more humane treatment of slaves and captives and in the stricter keeping of faith with enemies and strangers. But chivalry was an outgrowth of the crusades, and the crusades, as everybody admits, were among the most colossal religious movements of all history. They brought all Christendom far more intimately together than could possibly have been done in any other manner. They acquainted the people of Western Europe with two civilizations superior to their own—the Greek and the

Saracen—and thus laid the foundations for the wonderful development of international commerce and literature and art that immediately followed.

In our day the distinction in international law between Christian and Mohammedan is disappearing as effectually as the ancient one between Greek and barbarian. This is not because religion has come to have less influence in these matters than formerly, but because the doctrine of the universal brotherhood of man is being so widely extended over the earth. Not that which is peculiar to any one religion, but that which is common to all religions is coming to be more and more completely recognized.

In obedience to the religious impulse the representatives of the civilized nations of the earth came together at The Hague Peace Conference in 1899, and for the same reason they reassembled in 1907. Indeed we have the best of authority for the statement that the very idea of a Peace Conference was suggested to the Czar as a means of improving the lamentable state of religion in his empire. If there could be a reduction of armaments, a portion of the enormous expenditures of Russia upon war could be devoted to the advancement of the church. The Conference itself from its first inception received the heartiest support from the ministers of religion. It is based on the idea that universal brotherhood is the criterion of international obligations; that man is a citizen not only of his own locality but of the world; and that family and race are always to be considered as secondary to humanity.

A better theology and a truer view in regard to the Bible are affecting modern civilization to a far greater extent than is commonly supposed. The burden of the theology of the Middle Ages was a future heaven and a

future hell. The most intelligent preachers of our times are concentrating their attention upon the present. "One world at a time" is their motto. If we do our duty here and now, the future will take care of itself. The principles of a righteous life are eternal : whatever is good for this world is good for the next. Everything is put in the present tense. Serve God now and keep his commandments. This is the whole duty of man.

The theology of to-day is no longer satisfied with a creed that chiefly attempts to set forth the genesis and attributes of the Supreme Being, although it asserts with Paul that "the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead." It seeks to determine what every creature ought to do in his present environment to live in harmony with the eternal source of his being and happiness. One of the chief reasons why the Jew and the Christian are now living together in greater peace and good will in most civilized lands than ever before is the fact that they are both coming to see that the Old Testament and the New Testament do not teach antagonistic doctrines, but set forth essentially the same unchanging faith. The Jew seeks his rewards and looks for his punishments mainly in this present life. So now do most intelligent Christians. The Commandments refer to the world that now is, and so do the Beatitudes and the Lord's Prayer.

The Bible under the influence of the newer methods of interpretation has become almost another book, but never has it affected thought and conduct so much as at present. It is shown by statistics to be the best selling book in the world. The Japanese, the Russians, the Chinese, and the Hindus are buying it and reading

it in whole or in part to the extent of over a million copies every year. It has well been said "that no single cause for the spread of religious liberty and, by consequence, of civil liberty in modern times has been so powerful as the circulation of the Bible in all languages."

The demand for higher ethical standards in politics and business and social life that is now asserting itself in almost every land is chiefly due to its teachings. Men are coming to admit as never before that devotion to the true, the beautiful, and the good in this world is the real basis of a worthy and happy life; that, after all, character and conduct are the things that really count, and that these are the children of faith in things eternal and unseen. The spread of these ideas over the earth does not lessen, but greatly enhances the motives of love to God and regard for one's fellows. These are the forces that are directing as never before the course of history, and will more and more manifest their power as nations progress. The historian of to-day must not only write his history in the religious spirit, but he must see the dominating influences of a Superhuman Power in the world's ongoings, if he wishes to be true to the facts. For every careful student of the course of human affairs upon this planet must agree with Weber in his recent *History of Philosophy* (p. 18), when he says, "Philosophy, being a late product of human development, plays but a subordinate and intermittent part in history. Religion, on the other hand, guides its destinies."

CHAPTER VI.

WHAT RELIGION HAS TO DO WITH EDUCATION.

THE word "education" comes from the Latin verb *educare*, meaning to nourish or bring up. By common agreement it is not applied to vegetables or animals, but only to persons. Nor is it to be confounded with mere training. We have a perfect right to talk about a well-trained horse or dog or pigeon, but no one of them is or can be educated in the proper sense of that term. Equally unfitting is it to speak of an educated savage, although by dint of physical prowess and intellectual cunning he may easily gain the mastery over all the other savages with whom he comes in contact.

Education is possible only when a being has developed far enough to possess a more or less conscious ideal of what the improvement of his life requires, only when his imagination can picture more or less vaguely a higher plane of existence than the one he now occupies. As Prof. S. S. Laurie rightly says in his excellent *Historical Survey of Pre-Christian Education* (p. 3), "It is only when the ideas of bodily vigor, of bravery, of strength, of bodily beauty, or personal morality become desirable for themselves, or as the necessary conditions of political life and national conservation, that education begins."

Some sort of an ordered civilization must therefore precede education; and since different degrees of civilization exist in different communities, a great variety

of conceptions of education have arisen in the course of history and still prevail over the earth. We can hardly do better for our purpose than to take it for granted that no person can be considered as well educated who has not consciously developed the capacity to put himself in harmony with his environment and to modify or change that environment. The former places him in line with the course of history, and the latter opens up the way to future progress. The environment of any man is made up of two things, his physical surroundings and the sum-total of knowledge and custom that we call the civilization of his age. It is chiefly with the latter that education has to do.

Now it is admitted by all authorities that the beginnings of civilization were originated by religion. "Religion," says Professor Jastrow in his *Study of Religion* (p. 310), ". . . is the stimulus which produces the earliest definite manifestations of culture. It gives birth to the arts and sciences, and not only encourages all manner of intellectual pursuits, but presides over them."

Medicine, although the most materialistic of all the professions, had its origin with the priests. To them the people came for relief from their ills, because they were supposed to know far better than others of their number how to control the evil spirits, who were universally regarded in early times as the cause of all bodily troubles.

It is also true that the sanctuary was the oldest tribunal of law. When a dispute arose, it was the priest who undertook to determine what was the will of the local deity in regard to it, and his decision was taken as the ultimate authority in the case.

Astronomy came into being because of the belief

current in that age that the planets and stars were associated with the actions of certain deities. It was therefore considered of great importance carefully to watch their movements, in order to ascertain what of good or ill the gods had in store for mortals.

Long before the thought arose of making one's dwelling anything more than a shelter from the inclemencies of the weather, architecture had reached a high degree of development. For temples had to be erected for the abodes of the gods. Then came painting and sculpture to adorn and beautify these abodes. Music was developed in order to entertain the deities, and odes and hymns were composed to sound forth their praises. Philosophy arose out of theology, and at the outset included all the natural sciences known in that day. In short, everything that pertained to the civilization of the time had religion for its source.

It is no accident, therefore, that in the earliest ages the entire matter of education and culture was in the charge of priests. In Egypt, they constituted the highest order in the state, and along with the monarch governed the country. All the learning of the Egyptians was in their hands. They instructed the members of the royal family, and, it is to be presumed, the children of court dignitaries. Great colleges for the education of priests were situated in the principal cities, such as Memphis, Thebes, and Heliopolis, and in them the highest learning of the land was to be found.

Among the Chaldæo-Babylonians, the priests not only conserved and developed the religious system which they had inherited from the Accadians, but they also handed down the traditions of the race and embodied in an oral and written literature its highest poetical conceptions and its philosophy of life.

The Assyrians rivalled the Babylonians in the magnificence of their temples and palaces and the art with which they were adorned. Technical and military skill was undoubtedly developed among them to a high degree of excellence and was widely diffused. But education of the highest kind, as with the Babylonians, was in the keeping of the priests. Whatever education the youth of the land received was due to them.

By far the most famous of the Semitic races were the Hebrews. Moses was the central figure in their history and he was one of the greatest schoolmasters of all time. He claimed to be the mouthpiece of Jahveh and his one aim was to make him the centre of the spiritual and political life of the people. Civil law and social practice were derived from the law of God. As another remarks: "The banal distinction between sacred and secular, from which modern Europe suffers, did not exist." It was this close connection between religion, morality, and civil polity that gave the Jewish priesthood an influence unequalled in any other land.

With the Israelites, all education was religious both in its highest and lowest forms. The fear of the Lord was not only the beginning, but the end of all wisdom. All the literature of the country centred around Jahveh. Priests and prophets and scribes devoted their energies to the preservation and application of his commands and the psalmists gave their strength to sounding forth his praises.

The Jewish conception of the relation of religion to education is well summed up in the injunction: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might. And these words, which I command thee this day, shall be in thine

heart : and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up" (Deut. vi. 5-7). This requirement made some degree of education imperative and has enormously affected not only the history of the Jewish people, but of the world.

Learning among the Hindus was almost exclusively in the hands of the Brahmans. Under certain conditions they explained portions of it to the two next lower castes. For they alone were considered capable in any degree of comprehending its meaning. Manu's Book of Laws thus expresses the end of all education : "To learn and to understand the Vedas, to practise pious mortifications, to acquire divine knowledge of the law and of philosophy, to treat with veneration his natural and spiritual father, these are the chief duties by means of which endless felicity is attained." In the same Book of Laws, we also read : "A female child, a young girl, a wife, shall never do anything according to their own will, not even in their own house. While a child she shall depend upon her father ; during her youth on her husband ; and, when a widow, on her sons" (v., 147). The religion of the country made it almost the sole mission of women to bear children and serve their husbands. Hence women, among the Hindus, were excluded from all education, except in the case of dancing girls who were taught to read and write and sing in order to serve in the temples as "maidens of the god."

The Magi among the Persians possessed all the science and philosophy of the nation ; but as the religion they represented was a religion of light and truth, as

opposed to darkness and error, they taught the people courage and truth-speaking and purity of life. According to Herodotus, they thought that the most disgraceful thing in the world was to tell a lie; and that the next worst thing was to owe a debt, because, among other reasons, the debtor is obliged to tell lies. The Persians regarded themselves as colaborers with Armazd, the lord of life and light, and were to fight with him for the establishment of his Kingdom of Light. Hence they did what they could to educate their children in personal courage and justice and truth. They made these virtues the sum and substance of education, because they had developed in their religious ideas far enough to regard them as the chief attributes of God.

Among the Chinese, the Greeks, and the Romans, there was no separately organized priesthood, but its place was taken by a political aristocracy. The state was the church, and embodied in its scheme of civil affairs the moral and religious guidance of the people. Nor do we find in these cases any real exception to the rule that in ancient times the educational leaders of a nation were identical with those of the church.

Confucianism has for many centuries been the state religion of the Chinese and their whole life is still for the most part controlled by it. The idea of a great world-order established and maintained by a Supreme Principle of Mind is the foundation of all their thought. And this world-order first found expression among them in their family life. This is the centre of the religious and political activity of the people. The mission of the emperor, who is the son of heaven and father of his people, has always been to order and govern all human institutions by laws bearing upon every department of life. Antiquity is, in the opinion of the Chinese, the

infallible guide to truth. While they have often shown great intellectual ability and acuteness, a superstitious regard for the past has crushed out all originality from their systems of education. Only that which has been approved by their ancestors is regarded as worthy of reverence and thought.

Some writers have asserted that the Greeks, whom all admit to have been the most intellectual and best educated people of their age, were not deeply religious, but the fact is just the opposite. Every Greek child was early taught to pay homage to the conical stone of Apollo that stood in front of his dwelling, and an altar to Zeus occupied the chief place in every courtyard. A libation to Hestia was poured out on the hearth not only at the beginning of every feast, but of the ordinary meal. "Kitchen, storerooms, and bedchamber had their respective divinities. From birth to death there were few events in the life of a Greek when the gods were not remembered." They believed that everything that man possesses was the gift of the gods and they were constantly approaching them with offerings and prayers to win their favor for the future or to express their thankfulness for the past.

This was especially true of them as a nation. They commemorated their victory over the Persians by erecting the colossal bronze statue of Athene on the Acropolis and a group of lesser deities at Delphi. Later as they came into possession of more wealth they constructed the Parthenon and Propylæa at Athens and numerous temples in other cities, whose remains are to this day the wonder and the joy of mankind. Throughout all their history their religious festivals were celebrated with devout regularity and with becoming dignity and pomp.

It is true that they did not make much of priests, although they had them at such religious centres as Eleusis and Delphi; for they did not regard them as having any peculiar knowledge concerning the will of the gods or any special control over their conduct. Nor did they feel the need of any mediators between themselves and their gods, or of the exact performance of a complicated system of rites. The absence among them of any belief in a revelation committed to the care of a chosen few also largely accounts for this fact. They all thought of the gods as everywhere present and deeply concerned in everything that pertained to their private and public life. Fear was not dominant in their natures and their relation to their gods was a pleasant and friendly one. They were too light-hearted and optimistic to dwell much upon the mysterious and awful in the world.

Their gods were concrete individualities who embodied in themselves the highest ideals of human thought. They saw in the causes of all being and all change, moving forces similar to those that operated in their own breasts. Their worship was in truth the worship of humanity. "To the Hellenic conception everything beautiful was holy: everything pleasant to man was acceptable to the gods." Hence it is that their religious sentiments naturally expressed themselves in architecture and the plastic arts. Pericles knew, as Von Ranke points out, that when he was promoting the fine arts among the Athenians he was strengthening their religion.

The Greek religion was the religion of the beautiful and they saw this beauty in everything around them. Nothing in their eyes was common or unclean. They investigated everything in order to find out its ideal relations; for in that way only could they satisfy their

passion for knowing things as the gods knew them, which to them was the same thing as saying, as they really are. For this reason we owe to them not only the arts of architecture, sculpture, and painting, and the finest forms of poetry, but the beginnings of science and history and the extraordinary elaboration of logic and philosophy.

All their education, both physical and mental, was primarily undertaken for the purpose of raising man to their conception of the divine. The body was subjected to the most vigorous training in order that it might be made the easy vehicle of a free and happy spirit. The great games on the plains of Olympia, to which all Greece annually flocked, were always accompanied by services in the temple and had the special favor of the gods. The greatest reward bestowed upon the victor was to elevate him to the rank of the gods.

While the prime object of human existence, as Aristotle expressed it, was to "live happily and beautifully" like a god, the secondary object was to fit oneself for his place in the state. For only thus could one come to the full and free development of his powers. The state to an Athenian was not something arbitrarily imposed upon him from without. It got its authority from himself. Its laws were a counterpart of his own life. Hence his idea was that you must have the most highly developed manhood in order to have the best citizen. This was an ideal much higher than any that had preceded it, as it aimed at the harmonious development of the whole man, both of mind and body.

Laurie is right in maintaining in his discussion of education among the Greeks that "the civic idea was dominant, just as in China the family idea was and is dominant, and in India the caste idea, in Egypt the

class idea, among the Jews the theological idea, and among the Persians the virile military idea." But, as he himself elsewhere holds, each of these ideas is to be traced back to a preconceived religious idea as to what kind of an education would be most acceptable to the gods.

It may be well here to note that although the Greeks had very lofty ideas in regard to education, like all other ancient nations they made no attempt to apply them to all classes. Women among the Athenians had no school education. The little they knew about the world in which they lived they learned at home. Except on great festival occasions they and their children were generally confined to the upper floor of their dwellings. So far from having any athletic development they were for the most part slender and pale. Propriety of conduct, domestic thrift, and the harmonious management of the household were considered their finest qualities. They took no part in social entertainments. When a husband had guests at dinner, the wife was not allowed to be present, although it was her duty carefully to prepare the feast.

And then, too, we must remember that slavery was everywhere dominant. In Attica, at its best period, four out of five of its population belonged to that class.

One of the chief differences between the religion of a Roman and that of a Greek is seen in the fact that when the former made a sacrifice he covered his head with a veil, while the latter raised his hands and eyes toward the heavens. The very word "religion," which has come down to us from the ancient Romans, shows us with what awe they approached the Unseen. To them religion was not a matter of joyous friendliness, but a great and serious reality. As Ihne puts it (*His-*

tory of Rome, vol. iv., p. 3), "religion with the Romans was not a matter of feeling or speculation, but of law."

Their supreme deity was Jupiter Optimus Maximus, whom they regarded not alone as the father of men and the source of every blessing, but pre-eminently the divine personification of the Roman state. This deep religious feeling was exhibited all through their history and they always made a complete identification of the church with the state. It is said of the great Scipio Africanus that he went daily into the temple of Jupiter to pray, and that he ascribed all his triumphs to the protecting care of that deity.

The unit of the Roman state was the family, and the centre of the family life was the worship of the household gods. The Penates watched over the hearth and the Lares were the spirits of departed ancestors, who were regarded as still concerned with all that related to the welfare of their descendants. In the atrium of the house, beside the household hearth, usually stood between two Penates the chief Lar clad in a toga. Before this shrine a prayer was offered every morning and libations were poured out at every meal-time. Three times a month and on all festal occasions sacrifices were made, the father acting as a priest.

The Roman clans were but enlarged families, each clan having a common altar and making common sacrifices ; and the religion of the Roman state was simply the religion of the clans, with a common hearth, where the Vestal Virgins forever guarded the eternal fire.

"So closely," says a high authority on the subject, "was the Roman life bound up with religion that we have found it impossible to speak of the one without the other. The Roman state ultimately rests on Jupiter as law and order and object of supreme reverence, on

Mars as the strong arm for defence and offence, and on Vesta as symbolizing the sacredness and purity of the home."

In regarding Jupiter as the head of the state, the Romans came instinctively to recognize law as the basis of true liberty, and they did not seek it in the arbitrary decisions of individuals. They thus made themselves an extending and long-enduring power, and laid the foundations of a jurisprudence that became a mighty factor in the subsequent history of the world. In the divine law they saw the elder sister of civil law, and the mould or pattern in which it was to be cast. The characteristics of the one became the characteristics of the other. In both we find the same severity, the same precision, the same inflexible will, and the same aversion to modification or change.

In these elements of their religion and, what amounts to the same thing, their political life, we find the key to their conception of education. Their youth were instructed in such things as would help them bear the burdens of the state. They did not devote their energies to music and gymnastics, as the Greeks did, in order that they might develop a beautiful mind in a beautiful body. But, in the words of Cicero, "the children of the Romans, on the other hand, are brought up that they may one day be able to be of service to the fatherland, and one must accordingly instruct them in the customs of the state and in the institutions of their ancestors." Mere culture and harmonious development was not the end they had in view. They gave little time and strength to poetry and science and art for that reason.

What they sought was *virtus*, manly vigor. The studies they pursued were mainly intended to make

them strong for political service. For the most part the education a boy received in the palmyest days of the Roman people was obtained through the moral and religious influences of his own home in constant and free intercourse with his father and mother. And he was considered to have reached the highest degree of wisdom of which he was capable if he had developed in himself a deep sense of duty to law, to paternal authority, and to the state.

With the lawless indulgence of almost every passion and the utter disregard for the demands of ethics and religion that attended the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, this standard of education vanished from sight, and mere dilettanteism and glibness of tongue were most cultivated and admired. The rhetoricians were dominant in this period, and they made it their chief aim to develop in their pupils the ability to speak with equal effectiveness on either side of any proposition, caring little or nothing for the quality of the thought. "This power of using words," says Professor Dill, when describing this era, "for mere pleasurable effect on the most trivial or the most extravagantly absurd themes was for many ages, in both west and east, esteemed the highest proof of talent and cultivation."

This state of things continued until the ideas of the Christian religion began to have some effect upon the thought of the time, and the rise and fall of education ever since have chiefly depended upon the way they have been treated. The two leading ideas of this religion are that God is not only a god of law, but of love, and that every man is a child of God, capable of being his companion and friend. The best the pagan world had to offer for the improvement of society was an appeal to the intellect. Education was

therefore necessarily aristocratic and possible only for a comparatively few favored spirits. Christianity aroused the moral nature and placed its emphasis upon the will, rendering the attainment of virtue possible for all. It thus laid the foundation for a new solution of the educational problem.

The Stoic philosophy as represented by Seneca, Epicurus, and Marcus Aurelius approached very closely to the ethical teachings of Christianity, for it fully recognized that a regard for moral conduct was the supreme need of the time. Stoics, equally with the Christians, were the first humanitarians. They both believed in the inherent right of every citizen to an education. But stoicism could appeal only to a limited few, whose minds were already highly developed. Hence it cannot be compared with Christianity in the extent of its influence or its bearing upon the matter of education.

None of the ancient religions or philosophies did much or were capable of doing much for the improvement of the people at large. Slavery everywhere abounded, and sympathy with the unfortunate or regard for others was seldom mentioned by any of them, and rarely if ever highly commended.

Professor Munroe in his *History of Education* (p. 229), in concluding a description of the condition of affairs in the Roman Empire to which the Christian ideas of education had to adapt themselves, says: "The most refined women of the period were devoted to these public spectacles [gladiatorial combats]; even women descended to fight in the circus; there were connoisseurs in the expressions of men dying in torture; at private banquets men were torn to pieces by wild beasts for the entertainment of guests. It was said of one of the emperors that he 'never supped without human blood.'

These facts indicate how decadent beyond all modern standards was this society ; how impossible it is for us now to comprehend those times ; and also what was the task before the new Christian education."

The early church betook itself at once to the destruction of this state of society. Consequently it gave its attention almost wholly to the moral education of its members. Its only text-books were the Mosaic Law and the Sermon on the Mount ; and they inculcated standards of personal morality never before heard of by the great mass of the population. The testimony of scholars is unanimous that the early Christian Church thus introduced into the world, and enforced, an entirely new system of education, that for several centuries, at least, produced results among the most remarkable as well as the most beneficial in all history.

Divorce, which had reached such a state that men were said to change their wives as easily as their garments, was made disreputable and largely suppressed. Infanticide, before universally practised, was rooted out. The exposure of children was made a capital crime. Gladiatorial shows were put down, and the grossly lascivious rites of many pagan religious bodies abolished.

The schools that the early Christians established were at first as a matter of necessity catechumenical. They were designed to give to those who wished to join their number the requisite knowledge of their doctrines and mode of life, and also to cultivate an acquaintance with music, which they made almost as much use of as the ancient Greeks. Later, higher schools were instituted at Alexandria and other Eastern centres, where the leaders and ministers of the church were instructed in all the Grecian learning of the day.

As time went on a decided difference of opinion arose, among those most prominent in affairs, as to the value of this learning, the church Fathers of the East arguing in its favor and those of the West against it.

Justin Martyr declared that Plato, Socrates, and Heracleitus were Christians before Christ, and that Grecian philosophy tended to the same end as Christianity. Clement claimed that "Plato was Moses Atticized," and that the philosophy of the ancients was "a pedagogue to bring the world to Christ." Origen, the most learned of the early Christian Fathers, contended strongly for the helpfulness of the pagan sciences to the doctrines of Christianity, and was the chief instrument in disseminating the new religion among the Greeks.

Tertullian, the first of the Latin Fathers, on the other hand, vigorously maintained that heresies only are stimulated by the study of philosophy. "What indeed," he exclaims, "has Athens to do with Jerusalem? What concord is there between the Academy and the Church? What between heretics and Christians? . . . Away with all attempts to produce a mottled Christianity of Stoic, Platonic, and dialectic composition!"

Essentially the same point of view was taken by St. Jerome, the author of the famous Vulgate version of the Scriptures. A dream which he records well expresses his sentiments on this subject. On being dragged before the judgment-seat of heaven he was asked, "Who art thou?" He replied, "A Christian." But immediately his stricken conscience heard the awful judgment, "It is false: thou art no Christian; thou art a Ciceronian; where the treasure is, there the heart is also."

The influence of Augustine, the most active and powerful mind of the church Fathers of the West, was strongly against the classical learning in the later period of his life, and he probably induced the Council of Carthage to prohibit all clerics from reading any of it. In this contest the Fathers of the West finally prevailed and their victory resulted, as was to be expected, in a general lack of interest in learning of every kind. It brought on the period commonly known as "the dark ages," and for a thousand years it impeded the progress of education far more effectively than any other single cause, and many think than all other causes combined.

On account of it, the education of the early church reached its culmination in asceticism and monasticism. For it insisted upon the false doctrine that religion requires a renunciation of the world that now is, the abandonment of all real interest in the affairs of everyday life, and concentrated its attention almost exclusively upon the world that is to come. It ruled out of the sphere of thought the three most important phases of human life—the family, industrial society, and the state,—phases which it is the glory of the Christian religion, as interpreted in our day, especially to extol.

But even the monks themselves were far from being satisfied with this narrow and one-sided view. In spite of the disapproval of the church leaders for several centuries, they kept alive a knowledge of the ancient literature, and we owe it to their care that this knowledge has been preserved to our time. For centuries the monasteries possessed the only libraries, produced the only scholars, and were the only universities of research.

In spite of the low state of education during this period, efforts were made here and there to broaden religious beliefs and bring about a greater regard for the welfare

of man in this life. It was under the influence of this motive that the Emperor Charlemagne, toward the close of the eighth century, called Alcuin from one of the cathedral schools in England to assist him in reviving an interest in learning. He fully recognized the fact that the chief instrument for uniting and elevating a people is their religion, and that if you have ignorant and narrow-minded clergymen little or nothing can be done to this end. Accordingly he commanded that letters be taught to them in order that, as he says in his capitulary upon schools, there may be "a regular manner of life and one conformable to holy religion."

Still the old ideas, for the most part, held sway until the thirteenth century, when scholasticism gained a hold upon the church and, for two hundred years, had an almost unmolested reign. Education for this period chiefly consisted in the development of ability, under the guidance of the Aristotelian logic, to elaborate the dogmas of the church, into the most perfect and complicated systems of thought. Little or no attention was paid to the validity of the material used, or to the question as to whether equally or more important facts had not been left out.

About this time, owing chiefly to the unrest within their own borders, monastic schools here and there began to be enlarged into universities. The one at Paris was the most famous and became the mother of many others. Oxford was brought into notice by a migration from Paris in 1229, and Cambridge became prominent on account of a similar migration from Oxford. By the time of the Renaissance, seventy-five to eighty of these institutions had arisen in different parts of Europe. Here freedom of discussion first found its home. At the outset only one or two subjects of a strictly theo-

logical character were taken up, but later the curriculum was enlarged to cover the entire range of the then existing studies.

Although these institutions often possessed but little real power, still they always kept alive the spark at least of independent investigation. Out of them came, in course of time, the forerunners of modern thought such as Roger Bacon, Dante, Petrarch, Wycliffe, Copernicus, and Huss, all of whom did so much to broaden the religious conceptions of their age, and open up the way for the development of the modern spirit. They were the first to show the world how unsatisfactory and narrow was the existing system of education, that found no worthy aims to be pursued in this life, except those that bore immediately upon the life to come.

Taking advantage of the discontent of the people with the conditions that the crusades had largely brought about, they did what they could to open up to the world three spheres of life that for centuries had been almost wholly unknown :—the civilization of the ancients, to which the leaders of the church up to that time had been almost wholly indifferent ; the world of literature, of which medieval thought was densely ignorant , and the world of nature, which was universally supposed in that age to exert upon man an ignoble and debasing influence.

Before this time these realms of knowledge were regarded as antagonistic to a religious life and were not cultivated for that reason. These men and others like them such as John Reuchlin, Roger Ascham, John Sturm, and above all Erasmus opposed this view and began the agitation that eventually led to the development of the manifold spheres of activity that characterize our modern times.

The new humanistic learning was especially acceptable in Germany. The first permanent chair devoted to it was founded at the University of Erfurt in 1494 where Luther was educated, and Wittenberg from its very beginning in 1502 was one of its principal centres. By 1520 it was represented in all the German universities of that day and became one of the chief instruments in bringing about the Protestant Reformation.

It is to this latter movement that we owe the general characteristics of the education of our day, in spite of the fact that during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the results logically involved in the fundamental positions of the reformers were not realized. The bitter partisan and religious wars that were waged during this period absorbed the energies of the people and prevented the spread of free learning that took place when the country had more time to devote to the art of peace.

The reformers were the first to advocate the establishment of systems of schools based upon the idea of universal education. "Such systems of state public schools," says Munroe (*History of Education*, p. 407), "are wholly due in their origin to the Reformation. Their development and completion awaited the growth of the political idea that the welfare of the state depends upon the education of the individual citizen. The basis for all these modern systems of schools is found in the Reformation doctrine that the eternal warfare of every individual depends upon the application of his own reason to the revelation contained in the Scriptures."

The reformers were so persistent in this matter that they demanded not only the universal education of children of all classes and both sexes, but the compulsory education as well.

John Calvin did what he could for the establishment

of schools at Geneva. Zwingli urged their general introduction in an able treatise on "The Manner of Instructing and Bringing up Boys in a Christian Way," and John Knox was the chief agent in establishing the parish school system of Scotland.

But it was in Germany that the new ideas about education were advocated with the most persistent zeal. Luther, Melancthon, and many others worked heart and soul for a wider dissemination of the opportunities for education and a truer conception of its function. Luther insisted upon the enlargement of the curriculum so as to include not only the classical languages and mathematics, but history, science, music, and gymnastics. It is chiefly due to Luther's efforts that music and physical education are made so much of in Germany to-day.

Luther was also a strong advocate of manual training. "My opinion is," he declares, "that we must send the boys to school one or two hours a day, and have them learn a trade at home for the rest of the time. It is desirable that these two occupations march side by side."

He argues in favor of a system of schools supported by general taxation that the general welfare of religion and of the state requires it. "They [the magistrates]," he says, "do not deal justly with their trust before God and the world unless they strive to their utmost, night and day, to promote the city's increase and prosperity. . . . But this is the best and the richest increase, prosperity, and strength of the city, that it shall contain a great number of polished, learned, intelligent, honorable, and well-bred citizens, who, when they become all this, may then get wealth and put it to good use." The school systems of the Protestant

states of Europe are the result of his teachings and influence.

Melanchthon, the famous professor of theology at Wittenberg, is called the Preceptor of Germany because he did so much to formulate and carry out Luther's reforms. He not only made Wittenberg a model for the other universities of Germany, but, says Munroe (p. 415), "There was scarcely a city in all Germany but had modified its schools according to Melanchthon's direct advice or after his general direction." His correspondence with fifty-six of these cities is still in existence. He wrote nearly all the textbooks used in the lower schools of his day, as well as the system of Protestant theology which formed the basis of the instruction in the universities.

Similar educational improvements were made in England by the reformers under the leadership of such men as Tyndale and Latimer, although the secondary schools in that country, owing to the fact that they soon passed under the control of the national church, have not to this day been organized into any well-ordered system.

When the Roman Catholic leaders began to realize the effectiveness of the Protestant schools in advancing the interests of their churches and in furthering the social and material well-being of the people, they at once resorted to the same means. The teaching orders adopted the new ideas and devoted themselves to putting them into execution. The strongest and most important of these orders was that of the Jesuits. They controlled education in the south of Europe and in France and were also largely influential in many parts of northern Europe. For two hundred years according to some very competent judges theirs were the most

successful educational institutions in existence, a great proportion of the leading men of Europe during that period being educated in them.

Since the time of the reformers and the Jesuits, systems of education have changed far more rapidly than at any other period in history, and methods have greatly changed, but there has been no change in the fundamental motive of education. As in all previous history, the chief inspiring cause of education has been religion in some form. Christianity from its very introduction was the primary stimulus to education in all the lands where it gained a footing and it remains so to this day.

This is shown just as truly from the history of the new world as from that of the old. The Dutch colonists in America were required by the laws of Holland to plant a church in every one of their settlements. When the early settlers of New England came to these shores they brought the same devotion to education that had characterized the reformers of the mother country. Six years after the first settlement of Boston, Harvard College was organized, and the avowed purpose of its founders consisted "in vindicating the truth of Christ and promoting his glorious kingdom." The original charter of Yale College declares the motive of the undertaking to be "a sincere regard to and zeal for upholding and propagating of the Christian Protestant religion."

The first general law for the establishment of public schools upon this continent was passed in 1647 by the Massachusetts Bay Colony. The preamble to the law shows at once its dominant motive: "It being one chief project of that old deluder, Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures, as in former

times, keeping them in an unknown tongue . . . ; and to the end that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers in church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavors,—It is therefore ordered," etc. Every town of fifty householders was required to establish an elementary school, and every town of one hundred householders a grammar school. These institutions, and others like them, have been the chief means for carrying on the education of the people in this country ever since, however much courses of study have changed, and the way of supporting the teachers has varied.

The great leaders in education, practically without exception, have always been more desirous of helping on the application of religious principles to every form of human activity than they have been of anything else, and there is not the slightest probability that men and women who are publicly known to be antagonistic to such principles will ever be given the general control of the schools, either of this or of any other civilized land.

Comenius, whom a scholarly writer extols as "the man whose theories have been put into practice in every school that is conducted on rational principles," avowedly makes the ideas of religion determine the aim and scope of education. He gives as the primary principle of his *Great Didactic*, "the ultimate end of man is eternal happiness with God"; and he maintains that this ultimate end can only be secured by a knowledge of oneself and of one's environment, a position which even in our time is not yet fully recognized and approved.

In his famous work, *How Gertrude Teaches*, Pestalozzi expressly declares that the prime object of educa-

tion is to "build up humanity in the image of God." What he rails at is the way taken to do it in his day. It is "the mania for words and books," he says, "which has absorbed everything in our popular education. We ought not to make ability to commit to memory theological texts the aim of education, but the development of the child's entire nature—mental, moral, and physical." He made no attempt to change the ultimate end of education, but simply to improve the method of obtaining it.

Herbart, who built upon and supplemented the work of Pestalozzi, took the same position, and all of the writings of Froebel, from which "have sprung the chief streams of present educational thought," are pervaded by the most intense religious feeling. Of no man could it be more truthfully said that religion was his vital breath. "All things," he declares in his *Education of Man*, "live and have their being in and through God. All things are only through the divine effluence that lives in them. The divine effluence that lives in each thing is the essence of each thing." He is constantly reiterating the thought that the purpose of all existence is to reveal God, and the end of all education to develop the divine germ that lies in each one into full and complete accord with God. The reason he gives for making so much of nature study is the fact that nature reveals God to the child. He is to be developed, not as a preparation for a future world, nor for the sake of making an adult of him, but that he may constantly participate, to the full extent of his powers, in the unity of the life around him, all of which is divine. The aim of the kindergarten, for which Froebel has become so famous, is to aid the child to express himself and thus help him, in the most effec-

tive way, to begin the process of growing up into the divine likeness.

From the beginning of history the educational problem has remained essentially the same, but education is such a great subject that its aspects have constantly changed, and as the world progresses they will continue to change. Some writers in recent times have with William James emphasized the psychological aspect. Some with Herbert Spencer and Huxley make the scientific aspect dominant. Others would give the first place to the sociological aspect. Professor Horne, in his very able and interesting work on *The Philosophy of Education*, recently published, has at least a chapter on each of the following aspects of education : the biological aspect, the physiological aspect, the sociological aspect, the psychological aspect, and the philosophical aspect. Each aspect is important, and all of them put together do not exhaust the theme. But each and every one of them is simply a phase of the religious aspect, when religion is properly defined.

For religion is not to be confounded, as has generally been the case in the past, with some church or so-called denomination. It has often in the course of history been most maltreated in the house of its alleged friends, and most royally entertained quite outside of any so-called sacred precincts. Nor is it to be confined to any single relationship of human life.

In point of fact, the meaning of religion has in recent years undergone almost a revolution. As President Harris said in his baccalaureate address to the class of 1907, at Amherst : " The Protestant Reformation itself did not work a greater, though perhaps a more violent change, than the last quarter of a century has marked in religious thought, belief, and life."

The world is now coming to realize as never before that love to man and interest in all that concerns his welfare in this world is just as essential to religion as love to God ; that the attempt to separate the one from the other is a gross perversion of the truth. It is beginning to get the sense of the apostle John's inquiry, "he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" and to appreciate the fact that if we take care to do the former, the latter will take care of itself.

Religion in our day can no longer be set off by itself. It should be thought of as having to do with every phase of life. There is nothing that pertains to man that does not pertain to religion. As Sir Oliver Lodge puts it, in a noteworthy article in the *Contemporary Review* (vol. 86, p. 806), "the atmosphere of religion should be recognized as enveloping and permeating everything," and it permeates nothing so much as education. It is to-day, as it has always been, its chief inspiring cause. It is now acknowledged as never before to be the religious duty of every person to acquaint himself with the world in which he lives, to develop his powers in such a manner that he may get the most out of it he can for his rational development and use. It is also seen as never before to be his religious duty to help his neighbor attain the same worthy ends. No person can do anything to elevate himself or others without ideals. But all the material out of which ideals are constructed comes to us from our contact with the world about us, which is the product of God. In other words, in order to see anything at all in this universe we must have a light, and the master light of all our seeing is God.

A great many different definitions have been given

to the term education in the course of history, and they were never so numerous as at present. James defines education as "the organization of acquired habits of action such as will fit the individual to his physical and social environment." Dewey defines it as "the process of remaking experience, giving it a more socialized value through increased individual experience, by giving the individual better control over his own powers." Munroe, after pointing out that the meaning of education in our day is found in the attempt to combine and to balance the two elements of personal development and social service, gives, as his final definition, "the process of conforming the individual to the given social standard or type in such a manner that his inherent capacities are developed, his greatest usefulness and happiness obtained, and, at the same time, the highest welfare of society is conserved" (*History of Education*, pp. 755, 756). But it is hard to see how a clearer, more compact, or more satisfactory definition of education can be devised than that of President Butler. He describes it as the "gradual adjustment of the individual to the spiritual possessions of the race."

This definition rightly emphasizes the fact that man is a spiritual being and is capable of education for that reason. All nature is the embodiment of the ideas of a spirit and hence it is intelligible to man, at least in some degree. He can put himself into harmonious relations with it and make use of it for his enjoyment and edification. Because a man's relations to his fellows are spiritual relations, he can acquaint himself with them and take an interest in what they have accomplished in the past and are doing in the present.

In these modern times we are seeing as never before that nothing in this universe is foreign to man. Every-

where he discovers his own spirit reflected in it. To put oneself in harmonious relationship with this universe in which we live, in all the variety of its manifestations, is at once the highest aim of education and the chief religious duty of every son of man.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CHURCH AND THE RIGHT TO PROPERTY.¹

AT the very outset of my paper, I wish to say that I have written it on the assumption that there are in this world three equally divine institutions,—the family, the state, and the church. I also take it for granted that whatever affects any member of the human race in his relation to one of these institutions affects him in them all. I shall, therefore, use most of the time allotted to me in trying to explain how the right to property originates, and what is involved in that right, leaving its various applications for the most part to your own good judgment.

The moment we begin to reflect upon the matter, we cannot help seeing that the right to property is one of the most sacred rights of man. We cannot imagine a people so degraded as to be entirely devoid of the idea of property, and no community has ever enjoyed prosperity or attained a high degree of culture where the idea was held in slight esteem. Indeed, we may justly measure the progress of a people in civilization and true worth by the clearness with which they apprehend this idea and the completeness with which they apply it to the ownership and use of every commodity that ministers to human needs.

But, sacred as this right is, we greatly err, in my

¹ Address delivered before the N. Y. State Assoc. of Congregational Churches, May, 1907.

opinion, if we suppose that the ground of the right to property is first possession. No man gains a just title to a thing because he came upon it before some one else. If a person to-day should discover a new island in the Pacific he would not for that reason have a right to undisputed possession. Suppose a band of shipwrecked sailors should be cast upon its shores. He could not justly claim that the fruits and springs and other means of subsistence he found there were exclusively his. The new world was not the property of Columbus because he discovered it, nor did it belong exclusively to the scattered bands of savages that occasionally roamed over its surface. Possession and use of a thing can never be an ultimate ground of ownership. Something else must come in to determine whether or not that possession be just.

We should equally err in maintaining that the right to property is founded upon a decree of the government. "Property and laws," says Bentham, "were born together, and will die together. Before law there was no property; take away the law and all property ceases." The natural consequence of this doctrine is that what the statute could make it could at any time unmake. It necessitates the view that there is no right to property back of the decrees of government. If this were true, justice would have no place in determining the possession and use of property. All would be settled by an arbitrary fiat. The governors might at any time decree that all property should belong to themselves alone, and no voice could justly be raised to call the act in question.

Property may rightly be defined as the fruit of human labor. If there were no men in the world, there would be no property. Man alone is the creator of all prop-

erty. By his labor he imparts an interchangeable value to things, and this is the beginning of his progress. Man is capable of civilization because he can produce property. Other animals are swifter in the chase, better protected from the cold, and better armed for strife. But they cannot produce property, and therefore cannot advance beyond a certain fixed limit. They can be property, but not the owners and controllers of property. Man, however, because he is active, intelligent, and free,—because he is a person,—can so impress his personality on the objects of nature about him by his labor as to acquire a just title to property. In a highly civilized community there is scarcely a clod of earth or a leaf that does not bear that impress.

Thus we see that the maxim “To the doer belongs his deed” is as true of property as of morals. A man’s natural right to anything comes from the labor he has expended upon it, and is determined by the extent of that labor. Whatever laws the civil power may make concerning the possession and use of property, it can never justly ignore this right and treat it as though it did not exist, any more than it can justly ignore any other natural right.

But a matter of supreme importance, in my opinion, to the proper treatment of the subject of property is the fact that a natural right is not of necessity an ultimate right. The natural right to property, like the natural right to “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,” is never an absolute right. These rights, one and all, may justly be sacrificed in case the needs of the community require it. If a man’s life and liberty are at the disposal of the body-politic, how much more is his property?

The true state is an organism, and individuals are

the members of that organism. The well-being of the organism as a whole is the thing of greatest moment, and should be the point of view from which to treat the various parts. In the normal condition of affairs the lungs and heart are best developed by developing the whole body. Every human being finds the true sphere for the exercise of his natural rights in his connection with his fellows in their corporate capacity as a state.

The natural right to property, therefore, is ultimately resolvable into a state right. The people, as an organic brotherhood, are to decide what disposition is to be made of all property. While the good of the individual and the preservation of his right to the products of his labors are of great importance, the welfare of the brotherhood as a whole is of far more importance, and should be the point of view from which the laws controlling the possession and use of property are finally determined.

The laws of property that the state enacts will seldom need to set aside the natural right to property, but whatever they may be, they should never fail to be founded upon and to accord with the following :

1. The supreme ownership of all the natural sources of property is with the body-politic. The land, the water, and the air and all that they contain are the common possession of the race. They are under the supreme control of the whole people in their organic capacity as a state. Inasmuch as the support of every man is derived from the soil, the very existence of the state would be imperilled if the supreme ownership of the soil were not vested in the state itself. That the community, and not the individuals of the community, originally owned the land is one of the best attested facts of history.

Indeed, no state has ever given up that ownership. It has only allowed individuals under certain conditions and limitations to possess and use its territory. If a state should unconditionally give up its control, it would thereby cease to be a state. Its sovereignty would be gone. It would lose the very thing that makes it a state, and instead of one state, as many states as there were individuals would suddenly spring into being. If a state at any time adopts the system of individual control of its territory, the titles to the land are derived from the state, and each citizen holds his land ever subject to the control of the state. Whenever the land of the community gets into the hands of the few to the exclusion and injury of the many, or whenever the good of the state for any reason requires it, these titles may justly be revoked and individual control abolished. The state is constantly doing it in the exercise of the Right of Eminent Domain, and never was doing it to such an extent as at present. We have every reason to expect that as the needs of intercommunication increase, and the people become better acquainted with the many injurious effects of the present system, individual ownership will be much further limited. It is vain to argue, it seems to me, that any system of land tenure is of necessity the best system. The state should change its system with the needs of the people and keep it as nearly as possible in harmony with those needs.

2. The state has the ultimate control of and responsibility for the methods of acquiring property. If the sources of property are under the supreme control of the state, it is easy to see that all property derived from those sources should be under its control also. No individual can justly take any of the materials of wealth without the consent of the state and by his labor make

them his property ; and the state can never rightly give this consent except with the limitation that the ultimate ownership and control of all property is with itself. While the state, therefore, fully recognizes the natural right to property that comes from labor, it cannot regard this right as absolute, but must itself determine in what way and by what means property is to be acquired. It must prescribe the legitimate spheres of labor and check the wicked and useless expenditure of labor. It should prevent by every means in its power the acquisition of property by trickery, by chance, by counterfeiting, by combinations to force up prices without increasing values, and by immoral practices of every sort.

Any system of acquiring property that is not based on labor cannot contribute to the well-being of man. For the only thing that is worthy of reward is work. It is a sound principle of statecraft, as well as of morality, that he who will not work shall not eat. As President Hyde has well said in his excellent little work on *Practical Ethics* : "An able-bodied man who does not contribute to the world at least as much as he takes out of it is a beggar and a thief."

The fact that the government of a state has adopted in one set of circumstances certain regulations for the individual accumulation of property and has found them to contribute to the general welfare, is no sufficient reason why they should be continued at another time, under a different set of circumstances. When a country is new, with much to be done and few to do it, laws concerning the accumulation of property may with reason greatly vary from what they should be in a country where the conditions are just the opposite.

3. But the body-politic is not merely the supreme

power for determining the ways in which property can be acquired. It is also the supreme authority for determining how it should be used after it is acquired. No individual member of the state has a right to use his property as he pleases. If he pleases to use it for the injury of the state, to degrade and demoralize his fellows, the state through its government should put a limit upon his use and, if necessary, deprive him of it altogether.

The principle of confiscation is a clear recognition of this right. All nations agree that if a citizen uses his property to abet the enemy in time of war he has violated the first principles of government, and has by this act cut himself off from his normal relation to the community and deprived himself of the advantage that before belonged to him as a member of that community. The original condition on which the state allowed him the control of his property has disappeared and his individual right to the use of it has disappeared also.

Any crime of any character constitutes a sufficient reason for the state to limit the use of property, and the more serious the crime, the greater may be that limitation. Incurrible criminals of every description should not be allowed in any degree the free use of property, for they constantly show by their repeated acts of lawlessness their unworthiness of such a trust.

Property that is devoted to a good end and is accomplishing a worthy purpose in one generation may not do so in another. The state, therefore, should never allow property to be devoted for an unlimited period to the promotion of any enterprise. At any time when the state discovers that the welfare of the people is not furthered by such an enterprise, it should see to it that the

property that supports it is devoted to some other end that does promote that welfare.

The doctrine of the Inviolability of Vested Rights rests on a false conception of the right of property, and before the true conception has no foundation whatever. The true state will never allow any individual or collection of individuals to hold and use property any longer than such holding contributes to the common good. The moment it ceases to do so, that moment the vested right becomes violable.

The government of one generation can never unalterably bind a future generation as to its use of property. It can never grant a franchise for the use of property that a future generation cannot annul, or make a contract that a future generation cannot break. The word "forever" in any document concerning the possession and use of property is therefore a pure fiction, and the sooner it is read out of court the better.

Because a government has once allowed corporations to be formed for the investment and use of property is no reason why they should be continued in existence when they cease to promote the public welfare. It is not only the right but the duty of the state to legislate them out of existence when it becomes clear that some other method of holding and using property will better further the well-being of the people.

4. What we have said concerning the accumulation and use of property is equally true of the transfer and descent of property. Here also the state has the ultimate and supreme control. For there is no way of making property contribute to the welfare of the community as a whole, or of its individual members, unless the state has the right to determine what power of transfer the holder shall have as between himself and his contem-

poraries, and how far his acts shall control the use made of his property by the generations that follow him. All contracts, bequests, deeds of sale, wills, and the like must, therefore, be subject to the authority of the state, and if made without that authority must be regarded as having no binding force.

To what extent a dead hand should be allowed to hold property or a dead brain to control it is becoming in our day a very serious question. It is perfectly clear that no such bequests of property should stand if they plainly interfere with the progress of humanity. But if the state sees fit to grant the privilege on the ground that labor will be most effectually stimulated thereby, it should at best be a limited privilege. For no man can possibly foresee what will be the need of all coming generations, and thus he cannot in any sense possess a right to say what disposition shall be made of what was once his property to supply that need.

The superstitious reverence that many still have for the dead hand and brain would disappear in the light of a true conception of the sacredness of contracts. Living beings alone can make contracts. A dead person cannot make a contract with a live one, or a live person with a dead one. A father, while living, cannot make a binding contract for his own children even, after a certain period. Honor and reverence are due to all the worthy who have preceded us, but these things can never rightly be made a matter of contract. The wealth of the past would be of comparatively little value to us if we did not constantly renew it. There can be no moral obligation, therefore, upon the state to have property descend exactly as the fathers desire. The wealth of any generation is to be used pre-eminently for the good of that generation, to supply present needs, to establish

and maintain the ideas of the present, not to keep alive and extend the exploded notions of the past.

Many of the conditions attached to bequests under our present system are frequently more honored in the breach than in the observance. Clauses in wills are often justly declared null and void by the courts because they require the legatee to do something that is counter to "public policy." The state has not only the right but the duty to assume full control of the bequests and legacies of any institution that has outgrown its usefulness, as well as one that is supporting practices or promulgating doctrines that are injurious to the public good. Beyond all question it should devote them to purposes that meet the needs of the present, and advance the civilization of man.

When for any reason the wealth of the community has become concentrated into the hands of the few, injury to the public well-being of the most disastrous character is almost sure to follow. So great is the power that possessors of vast fortunes have over the daily lives and services of great multitudes, that when more than one half of the property of the United States, with its 85,000,000 of inhabitants, is owned by about 100,000 men, it is certainly time to call the justice of our laws seriously in question.

No tyranny is so dangerous to public life and morals as the tyranny of money. For there will be little virtue left in a people whose actions are determined for them by dollars and cents.

It may reasonably be doubted, it seems to me, whether any human being in the short space of three score years and ten, to say nothing of one score years, can justly acquire by his labor the control over the lives of his fellows represented by ten millions of dollars or even one

half that amount. At all events, one of the imperative needs of our time is an effectual check upon the amazingly skilful and elaborate devices, now so common, of getting possession of the property of the country without rendering an equivalent. There is every reason to suppose that a limit upon the power of inheritance will be such a check. The government, being finite, may often be unable to discover to what extent an individual has brought under his control the property of the country. At his death this is far less difficult. If the courts were empowered to assess and collect an inheritance tax, graduated in amount according to the needs and conditions of the legatees, the evil effects of vast fortunes continuing in the hands of single individuals would be largely mitigated. The time ought not to be far distant when our state and national taxes should be chiefly collected from this source.

Those who have been allowed to get possession of the property of the country should at least pay the taxes of the country. Unjust taxation is one of the chief evils of our time. The rich can and generally do escape their share of the burden. Under our present system it is such an easy thing for rich men to evade the payment of taxes that even the best of them can hardly resist the temptation. The poor man without money enough to own his home can conceal nothing, and has no palace in the country where for the purposes of taxation he can take up his legal residence. The present system is so manifestly vicious and leads to such a marked oppression of the poor that every voice in favor of the righteous use of property should be raised against it. Lord Asquith's plan of mitigating the social evils of England at the expense of inherited wealth should have the hearty support of every right-minded man in

the kingdom, and be copied in every other land. For, as another so truthfully expresses it, "every workman must be constantly reminded of the fact that, while numbers are unable to obtain a sufficiency of the necessities of life, others have so much superfluous wealth that they are able to squander it in useless and mischievous luxuries, and never devote themselves to one hour's useful employment."

After all I have said on this subject of property, I have to admit that there is nothing new about these doctrines. For they are as old as history itself, and were, in my opinion, as clear to the mind of the writer of Genesis as they could be to any mind to-day. The first people to discover and to proclaim to the world, so far as I am aware, the true conception of the origin and the nature of the right to property were the ancient Hebrews. From the first of Genesis to Revelation the ground of the ownership of property is always labor, and the order of ownership is always first God, then the race, then the individual. Neither Moses nor Jesus ever put the individual before the race, or in any way called this order in question. That "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof," for the reason that "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth," was the starting point of all Hebrew thought.

And their next great central idea was that the first pair, who were the first representatives of the race and historically the first state, being children of God and endowed with divine powers, got their right to the possession of the earth and its contents by obedience to the divine command to "subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the face of the earth." Individual ownership they always

regarded as secondary to race ownership, and to be allowed only as it contributed to the good of the community as a whole.

Every man should be taught to have a reverence for property, but it should not be a superstitious or irrational reverence. If his notion of the right to the possession and use of property harmonizes with the biblical conception, it harmonizes, in my opinion, with the best economic philosophy and the highest interests of man. The only fitting watchword for the treatment of property in our day is,—Back to Moses, Back to Christ.

The circumstances of our age have brought the subject vitally to the front, and the great mass of the people will not long give their allegiance to any church that puts it in the background. We do not have in this country a state church, but what we can and ought to have is a church state,—a state in which the members of our churches actually show by their conduct that they love their neighbors as themselves. For the churches are ultimately responsible for the character of our laws, and what they will unite in demanding, they can have.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CHURCH AND THE MODERN STATE.¹

IN a book written nearly two thousand years ago by a heathen of Bœotia, in ancient Greece, we read these words : “Go over the world and you may find cities without walls, without theatres, without money, without art ; but a city without a temple, or an altar, or some order of worship, no man ever saw.”

This statement is as true in the first quarter of the twentieth century of the Christian era as when it was first uttered, and no one at all familiar with the results of modern investigation and research can reasonably call it in question. Even the cannibals of Southern Africa, the most degraded, perhaps, of all the races of men, carry their fetishes with them in all their undertakings, and hide them in their waist-cloth whenever they are about to do anything of which they feel ashamed. “There is no need,” writes Dr. Livingstone in his *Journals*, “for beginning to tell the most degraded of these people of the existence of God or of a future state—the facts being universally admitted.”

All observation and experience justify the assertion that every man is born a worshipper. He is so made that in the very act of coming to a knowledge of his own existence he intuitively knows himself as related to a higher Power. He instinctively believes that he is indebted for his existence to this Power,

¹ Reprinted from the author's *The Sphere of the State*.

and that he owes to him the worship and service of his life. It is difficult to overestimate the influence of this religious element in human nature upon the course of history. It is hardly too much to say that it is now, and always has been, the most important single factor in determining the progress of mankind. "As an historical fact," says another, "nations and governments and religions have everywhere a connection, not only most intimate, but which has thus far shown itself indissoluble. If we look more closely into this historical fact, we find that the controlling element in their connection has ever been the religious one. Nations and governments have not formed their religion, but their religion has formed them." In other words, the more fully men realize their relation to God as their common Father, the more clearly will they recognize their rights and duties to one another as brethren and thus discover the only secure foundation upon which to ground the state.

In one sense of the term every human being is as truly a member of the church as of the family or state. For every person is by nature related to God, as well as to his parents and his fellows. In this sense the church is one and indivisible and includes every human being. Like the family and the state it cannot be created to-day and destroyed to-morrow, and like them it is of divine origin. For man is so made by his Creator that whether he will or no he must be a subject of the divine government as well as of the human.

In another sense of the term the church is manifold. There may rightly exist in the world as many individual churches as the good of the universal church requires. A true church is found in human history whenever a community of human beings join together

to worship and serve their Maker. Each church approaches perfection as a church just in proportion as the idea of a common divine sonship is realized in its members both in themselves and in all their mutual relations. In this sense of the term no church is permanent. Old churches should be dissolved and new ones formed whenever the religious needs of man require it.

No civil government can justly ignore the church, any more than it can justly fail to acknowledge its relation to the family. To attempt to treat the church and the state as utterly distinct is as unreasonable as to succeed in such an undertaking is impossible. For "no civil government can stand in the neglect of all religion, and no community can maintain its freedom without a government in some way acknowledging a religion." The chief question before every state is not whether it has any relation to the church within its borders, but how to determine what that relation ought to be.

Four different answers have been given to this question in the course of history and still have their respective advocates :

1. Some hold that the state should be subordinate to the church and should act simply as the agent of the church, getting all the authority and power it possesses from the church and not from itself. "All nations without exception have commenced with this régime. There are none which have not been governed at first by a religious power." As an historical fact, religion has been the only power that could check the wanderings of nomadic tribes and so fix them to the soil as to make them accessible to the demands of a civilized life. That all primitive governments were

theocratic is now established beyond all reasonable dispute. The seventh book of the Code of Manu is devoted entirely to the enumeration of the duties of kings. In India and the Orient from the earliest times religion has been dominant. In the greater part of Europe during the Middle Ages the church was supreme over all classes and conditions and kept a strong hand upon civil government.

In the infancy of a nation the dominance of the church over civil government is undoubtedly a great blessing. Barbarous and undisciplined tribes cannot otherwise be taught a reverence for law and thus made capable of being brought under the yoke of a civilized life.

In the chaos that followed the wreck of the Roman empire, the Catholic Church was almost the sole remaining bond of social unity. The bishops were the only persons that commanded the respect of the barbaric hordes that overran the south of Europe.

But what the church did in the degenerate times of the Middle Ages, and did wisely and well, it should not of necessity do or desire to do in other times and under other conditions. No one has more clearly or accurately expressed the true position on this point than the great Catholic writer Dr. Von Schulte. In treating of the legitimate objects of the church in our day, he says: "During the Middle Ages, we see an infinity of objects drawn into its domain, with which, at first glance, it would seem to have nothing to do. . . . But it cannot be ignored that its direct action, so far as its end and mission are concerned, has not so broad an aim now, and that consequently no place in things non-essential belongs to it, that none such is necessary or can appear necessary to it, and that it has

no right to such a place. Rather can the immediate and ever-legitimate aim of the church be this and this only: man in his moral and religious relations. If the church here attains its object, harmony will of itself follow."

2. Another view of the relation of the state to the church is that the state is absolute master over the religious beliefs and modes of worship of its subjects as truly as over their secular affairs. When the Religious Peace was concluded at the Diet of Augsburg, in 1555, the assembled princes adopted the direful maxim: "*cujus est regio, ejus religio*," the religion of the ruler is the religion of the land.

Neither Melanchthon nor Luther were blind to the evil consequences of this system. "If the courts wish," wrote Luther to his friend Cresser, "to govern the churches in their own interests, God will withdraw his benediction from them, and things will become worse than before. Satan still is Satan. Under the popes he made the church meddle in politics; in our time he wishes to make politics meddle with the church."

The prerogative of the prince to impose his own religion upon his subjects makes him by right the head of the church and puts the administration of ecclesiastical affairs under the general administration of the country. This continues even to our day to be the law of Protestant Germany. But it is rarely heeded. The German princes have always been, as a rule, far more tolerant than their laws and have allowed public opinion, "which is nowhere so independent in religious matters as in Germany," to guide their conduct. Russia is the only country in which this theory has been put into actual practice. When the patriarchs at Moscow, urged on by the Russian bishops, broke with

the patriarch of Constantinople, they sought for many generations to make themselves supreme in the church; but Peter the Great frustrated their designs in 1791 by declaring that he himself was the head of the church as well as the state, and he thoroughly reorganized the entire religious system of Russia on that basis. The result is Russia herself. It is a debatable question whether she has a just claim to a place among civilized nations. So long as a man remains a man, his morality and piety must stand quite outside the sphere of government, divine or human. True religious belief and worship must ever be the act of a free being, and it is not only absurd, but impossible, for a government to coerce its subjects to the adoption of any religious system whatever as a matter of thought and life.

3. A third theory concerning the connection of the church with the state is that they are both sovereign powers, and that the relation between them is to be determined by a series of concordats. Concordats have repeatedly been made in China and Japan between the spiritual powers and the emperors or tycoons. In our day in Christian lands they are almost always compacts made between temporal sovereigns and the popes. They have been aptly described as treaties of peace between the civil and religious powers. Their main object is to put an end to disputes that are equally dangerous to both parties, and with very rare exceptions they are the results of a long struggle.

The most famous of the earlier of these compacts was the concordat of Worms in 1122. Henry V. had been to Rome with an army and compelled the Pope to crown him Emperor and concede to him the right of investiture. When he returned to Germany the Pope

revoked the concession and excommunicated him. The long controversy that followed was for the time settled by this concordat, in which it was agreed that the Emperor should first invest with the sceptre, and then consecration should take place by the church with the ring and the staff.

Another good illustration of the compromise character of concordats is the famous compact that Napoleon forced upon the representative of Pius VII. in 1801. By this agreement the clergy became subject to the civil power, like laymen, in all temporal matters ; and, though the Pope had very large powers secured to him in matters of discipline, the appointment to all the bishoprics was retained by the government and all the appointees were obliged to swear allegiance to the republic.

Concordats by their very nature can never be final, for they are based on concessions that are never entirely satisfactory to either of the contracting parties. In all countries where they exist it has been necessary to modify them unceasingly, or replace them by entirely new ones. France, during the 19th century, had three different concordats, and many times that number in recent years have been made and abolished in Germany and Austria. The struggle goes on under the régime of concordats in nearly the same form as before their establishment.

No state, if it can possibly avoid it, should ever make contracts of this sort with any outside power. If compelled to do so it should submit to the imposition only under protest, and as a temporary device for warding off far greater ills that would be sure to come to the body-politic if it persisted in the endeavor to maintain its right of sovereign power. France, for ex-

ample, was obliged, in the condition of affairs that long prevailed in that country, scrupulously to observe the existing concordat in order to continue her present form of government. But the time finally came when she was able to throw off all allegiance to any outside sovereign power, and provide in a more efficient and consistent manner for the nation's religious needs.

4. The fourth proposed theory is that the church and the state are so utterly distinct, their spheres of action are so entirely different, that their absolute separation is the only solution of the problem before us that can be permanent, and can carry us back to the ultimate ground. The simplicity of this solution must be evident to the most thoughtless observer. But its simplicity is its only redeeming feature. All history is against it, and reason is against it. No nation has ever yet been able to get along without religion, and religion has never yet flourished without houses of worship and a properly supported religious service.

The state can no more cut itself off from the church than it can from the family. It stands in the same relation to the one as to the other. A recent writer in the *North American Review* advocates the absolute separation of the state from the family. He claims that the government should not in any way attempt to regulate marriage and divorce, but should leave the matter of the formation and continuance of the family wholly to the pleasure of the parties. Few seriously minded thinkers will, however, agree with him in this opinion. But it is no more absurd a doctrine than the absolute separation of church and state. Fortunately there is no danger of the doctrine ever being put into actual practice. For its realization is an impossibility. So long as man remains upon the earth these three

divinely established institutions will remain in such intimate and vital relations to one another that any injury to one will be an injury to all, and any good to one will be a benefit to all. It is only in a state of insanity, as at the time of the French Revolution, that any people have ever taken up arms against religion and sought as a body-politic to cut themselves off from its benign and civilizing influence.

5. The true relation of the state to the church is that of mutual helpfulness. They should not act as two antagonistic powers, or two mutually exclusive powers, but as two divinely commissioned institutions, both having to do with man, but the one with man in his relation to his fellows, and the other with man in his relation to his Maker. So far as its earthly form of organization is concerned, the church should be subject to the state, as the only sovereign temporal power; but so far as its religious belief and worship are concerned, it should be its own sovereign master.

No state can justly ignore or belittle the religious convictions of its members. On the contrary, it should do what it can to bring those convictions into harmony with its own ideas as to what the public good requires. It should foster and encourage the practice of that religion whose teachings concerning the nature of man and his relations to his fellows most fully accord with its own conception of those relations. Neither the Mohammedan nor the Buddhistic religions are founded on ideas that harmonize with the true conception of the state, and therefore the state should not encourage the existence of their sway over its subjects. The only religion whose teachings accord with the conception of the state as an organic brotherhood is the Christian religion. Wholly on that ground is the state justified

in furnishing, in some way, the necessary means for obtaining instruction in the principles of this religion, and full opportunity for worshipping in accordance with its dictates to all who may desire.

Every modern state ought to be a Christian state. By this we do not mean that every state ought to be ruled by a hierarchy according to the teachings of the Bible, or according to religious tradition. For this would be wholly antagonistic to the idea of Christianity, and at war with the historical development both of the church and the state. What we mean by the statement is simply that every state should be conscious that the Christian religion is the religion of its people, and it should live up to, and act upon, this consciousness. It should recognize the fact that Christianity is a fundamental condition of its own development, and "is not only the basis, but the living element of our civilization." We cannot too strongly insist upon the importance to the welfare of the state, and the efficient administration of government, of keeping alive among the people a strong faith in a personal God, and his righteous government of the universe. For without this faith the spiritual bond that binds all men together as brethren would be broken, the very foundation of government would crumble into pieces, all unity in the order of the world would be lost, and the inevitable result would be anarchy and chaos.

No writer has more accurately or more truthfully described the relation of Christianity to the development of the modern state than Bluntschli, who summarizes its beneficent effects in substance as follows: 1. "It has awakened among the people a high sense of human dignity and honor. Since the time it first taught men to regard themselves as children of a

common Father, the value of human life has been held in far higher esteem than ever before in human history. 2. By the doctrine of the fatherhood of God it has brought men to a consciousness of their equality and fraternity in relation to one another. Acting as a liberating force upon all, even on the lowest class, the slaves, it gave a new foundation to the liberty of all, and has transformed the face of Europe. 3. It has put a legitimate restraint upon the power of monarchs by reminding them of their accountability to the Supreme Ruler, and by demanding of them that they should respect their subjects as their brethren in Christ. 4. It has revealed the affinity of all the races of the earth, and by opposing the narrow spirit of sectionalism with its doctrine of the unity of the human species, it became the source of a higher and nobler conception of the moral principles that should regulate the intercourse of nations, and thus laid the foundations for the eventual civilization of the world."

"In proportion as nations come to understand human nature," Bluntschli continues, "they will respect the religion which has guided them in their intellectual advance, and infinitely promoted their civilization. On this account the state, although now conscious of itself and grown independent, will, in the future, take into consideration the moral demands Christianity may make, and, so far as its laws and power permit, try to grant them. The religion of mankind and the politics of mankind—each adhering to its own principles—will continue in close and friendly reciprocal relations, and thus united they will best promote the welfare of the human race."

In the light of these considerations it is not difficult to see that the question of an "established religion"

is merely a question of expediency to be settled by each generation as the need of the people may require. The position taken by one state on this matter in one set of circumstances is not, of necessity, a standard for another state in a different set of circumstances. For whether the religious wants of a community can be better satisfied by the direct action of the government, or by the system of private management and voluntary support, is not a question that alone by itself admits of a positive answer. Sometimes the former method should be followed, sometimes the latter. The customs of the people in similar matters, their past history, and all the present attendant circumstances, should be taken into consideration before coming to a final decision. If, for example, the property of the country has become concentrated in the hands of a few, and the mass of the people have not the means to build churches and support pastors, the government should raise the revenue needed by a direct tax. Means for the maintenance of religious instruction and places for worship should in some way be provided by the people. If it cannot be done, or will not be done, by voluntary contributions, the government should not hesitate to act in the matter, any more than in providing instruction and discipline in anything else that is of importance to the welfare of the state. Nor is there any reason, in the nature of the case, why religious instruction and opportunity to worship should not continuously be furnished by the government, if it is the general desire of the people to have the matter attended to in that manner.

The possible disadvantages of such a system are obvious: it might tend to minimize the importance of religion as an individual matter, and to check the

independent growth and development of religious sentiment. It might result in putting a premium on deception as to one's religious convictions for fear of incurring the displeasure of the government. It might lead some to array themselves against the government for compelling them to help support an institution in which they had no personal interest.

But it also has its possible advantages. Being obliged, from the nature of the case, to recognize and foster religion, it might, by selecting a particular form, give greater definiteness to its support of religion than would otherwise be possible. It might often use the clergy directly, if necessary, for the furtherance of its own purposes. It might secure by this method a far higher degree of general religious culture.

Every state in deciding on its course of action in this matter, as in every other, should take into consideration all the data of the case, and do whatever in its own judgment, in the given conditions, best conserves the good of all.

Of course, no state is justified in taking the position that any one way of fostering religion is absolutely the best way, or that any one form of church government is absolutely the best form, even though it should claim that the Christian religion is actually the only religion in history that teaches ideas that are consonant with the true conception of the state. For evidently there may be in a Christian state many different ways of looking at the Christian religion, and as many forms of church government as there are forms of civil government. Because a given form was beneficial to the religious progress of mankind in one age and country under one set of circumstances, is no sufficient reason that it will continue to be so when the condi-

tions are wholly different. Nor should a form that failed to work well in an early period of history be wholly discarded for that reason in a later. The people of each generation have the same right to change the form of their church government as the form of their civil government. And the state ought to allow and sanction the change whenever the ends for which the church exists among men will be best promoted by so doing.

The framers of our national Constitution undoubtedly voiced the will of the people of the United States when they inserted in the first amendment to that document the clause: "Congress shall make no laws respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The ground of the opposition to this amendment at the time of its adoption was not at all the policy of the government regarding an establishment of religion, but the need of any such amendment, as no one thought of advocating any other policy. Livermore of New Hampshire unhesitatingly declared, concerning all the amendments, that they were "of no more value than a pinch of snuff, since they were to secure rights never in danger." This clause in our national Constitution, however, does not prevent any of the separate States from passing any laws they please "respecting an establishment of religion," or treating the religious beliefs of their subjects in any way they may desire. The framers of this amendment were not indifferent to religion themselves, nor did they wish the United States to be so in the future. "Probably at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, and of the amendment to it, now under consideration," says Judge Story in his *Exposition of the Constitution*, "the general, if not the universal,

sentiment in America was that Christianity ought to receive encouragement from the state, so far as was not incompatible with the private right of conscience and the freedom of religious worship. An attempt to level all religions, and to make it a matter of state policy to hold all in utter indifference, would have created universal disapprobation, if not universal indignation."

It was clearly not the purpose of the makers of the Constitution to countenance the introduction of Mohammedanism, or Buddhism, or even infidelity, "but to exclude all rivalry among Christian sects, and prevent any national ecclesiastical establishment which should give to a hierarchy the exclusive patronage of the national government." Every American colony, with the possible exception of Rhode Island, from its foundation down to the time of the forming of the Constitution, had openly supported some form of the Christian religion. And this amendment was adopted for the purpose of leaving the subject of religion exclusively to the separate commonwealths. At the first test case before the Supreme Court "the decision was that the Constitution contained no clause guaranteeing religious liberty against the several States, which might make such regulations on the subject as they saw fit." Nor does the Constitution contain any clause prohibiting the national government from deciding what forms of religious belief it will tolerate, and what forms it will not. "In deciding the Mormon cases," says Justice Miller, "the Supreme Court held that the pretence of a religious belief in polygamy could not deprive Congress of the power to prohibit it, as well as all other offences against the enlightened sentiment of mankind."

Many of the separate States have adopted constitutions limiting the action of their respective governments even more stringently than Congress is limited by the clause already quoted. Art. I., Sec. 3, of the Constitution of New York begins as follows: "The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship without discrimination or preference shall forever be allowed in this State to all mankind, and no person shall be incompetent to be a witness on account of his opinions on matters of religious belief." The Constitution of Wisconsin is probably more stringent on this point than that of any other State in the Union. Besides the clause against "sectarian instruction" in the public school, the Constitution provides: "(1) The right of every man to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of his own conscience shall not be abridged. (2) Nor shall any man be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry against his consent. (3) Nor shall any control or interference with the right of conscience be permitted, or any preference given by law to any religious establishments or modes of worship. (4) Nor shall any money be drawn from the treasury for the benefit of religious societies, or religious or theological seminaries."

These provisions are undoubtedly in the main wise and beneficial in a country made up of so many different races and sects as ours. But, notwithstanding the fact that the word "forever" occurs so frequently in them, they are all subject to amendment or repeal whenever the people, in their organic capacity as a state, desire to make it. None of them, whether state or national, imply an absolute separation of the state from religion, or prohibit the giving of religious

instruction in our public schools, or elsewhere, if the good of the people requires it. Nor do they in any degree militate against the fact that the United States is a Christian nation; and, while tolerating all religions that do not tend to subvert the public good, especially encourages and fosters the religion of Christ.

No one, it seems to me, has ever expressed more clearly the position that should be taken by every modern state on this subject than Judge Story in the work already referred to, in which he says: "The right of a society or government to interfere in matters of religion will hardly be contested by any persons who believe that piety, religion, and morality are intimately connected with the well-being of the state, and indispensable to the administration of civil justice. The promulgation of the great doctrines of religion: the being, and attributes, and providence of one Almighty God; the responsibility to him for all our actions, founded upon moral freedom and accountability; a future state of rewards and punishments; the cultivation of all the personal, social, and benevolent virtues;—these never can be a matter of indifference in any well-ordered community. It is, indeed, difficult to conceive how any civilized society can well exist without them. And, at all events, it is impossible for those who believe in the truth of Christianity as a divine revelation to doubt that it is the especial duty of government to foster and encourage it among all the citizens and subjects. This is a point wholly distinct from that of the right of private judgment in matters of religion, and of the freedom of public worship according to the dictates of one's conscience."

If at any time in the history of a state voluntary associations do not furnish the people with proper re-

ligious instruction and proper opportunities for worship, the state should not be left to suffer. The government, if necessary, should establish and maintain a system that does adequately provide for the public need. The state should always regard religion as a means, not as an end. It should never try to compel its subjects to adopt any system of religious belief, or conform to any mode of worship. But it should furnish to every citizen full opportunity to acquaint himself with the essentials of religion, and grant him, also, every reasonable facility for giving expression to his religious belief in the forms of worship he may most desire.

CHAPTER IX.

THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD IN THEOLOGY.¹

THE correspondence between Professor St. George Mivart and Cardinal Vaughan concerning the Professor's recent articles on the relation of educated Roman Catholics to the Bible marks a most significant epoch in the history of religious thought. It brings most strikingly to view the fact that the time is past when any one can serve the cause of true religion by ignoring the methods of modern science. It also makes clear and vivid the necessity of establishing our theological beliefs on just the same scientific basis as our beliefs in any other sphere of inquiry, if they are going to influence in any effective way the thought of the future.

The aim of the present paper is to set forth with clearness the principles that underlie all our beliefs, and then to show how these principles are to be applied to the particular field of investigation we now have in view.

It is customary in discussing the method of science to go back to Aristotle and treat of the subject under the two distinct heads of induction and deduction. But we now see that the two methods are not wholly independent of each other. In reality, they are frequently blended or employed alternately in the pursuit of science. It is no exaggeration to say that all the more important and extensive investigations of science rely as much upon the one as upon the other. In both, the syllogism,

¹ First published in the *North American Review*, April, 1900.

with its major and minor premises and conclusion, holds the foremost place. For the syllogism is not only the form of deductive reasoning, but it is the true type of all reasoning properly so called. It may not be always necessary to express an argument in the form of a syllogism, but it must always be thrown into this form when scientific accuracy is required.

While there is little or no disagreement among thinkers about the nature and place of deduction in science, there is often a great deal of controversy over the sphere and proper function of induction. This arises from the fact that the term induction may be employed in at least three different senses.

In the first place, induction may be used to designate the old Socratic method of attaining definitions. This consists simply in enumerating all the particulars of a class. It is what is sometimes called a perfect induction; and, although it is in the form of reasoning, it is not reasoning at all. All we do in such a case is to solve a simple problem in addition and state the result.

Induction, according to the second meaning given to the term, is any process of adding to our knowledge. It was Bacon's chief objection to the Aristotelian logic that its premises were all taken for granted. It could never, in his opinion, in any way increase our knowledge. He therefore asked the question, How do we obtain our knowledge, and how do we progress in it? His answer to the question was, By induction; and, as contrasted with the old method, the term took on the meaning of any process that adds anything to what we already know at any given time. But this view of induction is too broad, just as the first view is too narrow. It includes every other mode of acquiring knowledge as well

as reasoning, while the first view excludes reasoning altogether.

The third and most rational definition of induction represents it as the process of thought by which we pass from particulars to generals, or from effects to their causes. It is only in this sense that it can in any way be brought into contrast with deduction, as one of the essential methods employed in the pursuit of science.

Of course, the chief preliminary step in any induction is the acquisition of the particulars, and this can only be done by the two processes of observation and experiment. But they do not form any part of induction properly so called. The mere ascertainment of facts does not make a scientist. There are a thousand workers in science to one scientist. The most exact observers and the most skilful experimenters are not, by any means, the best scientists. Quite the opposite is probably the rule. Many of the world's greatest scientists have been notoriously defective in this respect. Nevertheless, a highly developed science, in any department of knowledge, is possible only upon the basis of a large supply of carefully ascertained facts.

The great and distinctive element in all induction is the formation of the hypothesis; and there can be no inductive science formed of any sort where this is not the chief feature.

What, then, is to be understood by an hypothesis, and what is the process the mind goes through in bringing it to view? An hypothesis is a supposition, a guess, or conjecture as to what the general fact is which includes the given particular facts, or what the cause is which has brought about the given effects. The term is sometimes contrasted with the term "theory," as though the two were necessarily distinct; an hypothesis

being regarded as a mere possibility, while a theory is called a verified hypothesis. But this view is largely an arbitrary one, as the terms are often used interchangeably, as when we speak indifferently of the Darwinian hypothesis or the Darwinian theory.

Much might be said about the conditions most favorable for making a good hypothesis, but the chief thing that concerns us for our present purpose is the fact that every hypothesis, however formed, is always a product of the constructive imagination. All previous acts are simply by way of gathering material for the imagination to rearrange and recombine into a new creation.

In a certain sense, the mind takes a leap into the dark. It literally passes, *per saltum*, from the realm of the known to the realm of the unknown. From all the material that the memory places at its disposal it makes a guess or conjecture as to what will best meet all the exigencies of the situation.

It is for this reason that men of science, in all realms and in all ages, have always been men of powerful imaginations. The Greeks were the first great scientists of the race, because they were far more highly endowed than any other people with great imaginative powers. What they saw excited those powers and urged them to conjecture, to reason about things, and try to explain their nature and cause. It was well said by Dr. Carpenter that "it cannot be questioned, by any one who carefully considers the subject under the light of adequate knowledge, that the creative imagination is exercised in at least as high a degree in science as it is in art or poetry. Even in the strictest of sciences—mathematics—it can easily be shown that no really great advance, such as the invention of fluxions by Newton and of the differential calculus by Leibnitz,

can be made without the exercise of the imagination."

Given the hypothesis, the next step in the scientific process is to verify it ; and this is done by making the hypothesis the major premise of a deductive syllogism and noting the results. If the conclusions obtained coincide with the observed facts with which we started, the hypothesis is *probably* a correct one, and other things being equal, may be accepted as an established truth.

From this outline of the scientific method we see that no induction can be established beyond a high degree of probability. That is, no one can ever be absolutely certain that the hypothesis he assumes is a veritable truth. All generalizations in every science thus have their logical basis in the theory of probabilities.

When Bishop Butler asserted that "probability is the very guide of life," he might have added, "and we have no other." For all our judgments of what the past has been, or the present is, or the future will be, are necessarily formed on that basis ; and as we are finite creatures and can never have infinite knowledge on any of these subjects, the knowledge we do have can never be more than probable.

The truth is that every man is so constituted by nature that he can never be absolutely certain of anything outside of the facts of his own consciousness and the simple intuitions necessarily involved therein ; and when he makes an assertion transcending this realm, he passes at once into the sphere of the probable.

What we know with absolute certainty is never a matter of inference. It is never the result of a process of reasoning. It is always known directly, at once, by an immediate beholding. It is easy to see, therefore,

that the realm of absolute certainty is a clearly limited one, and that the realm of probability includes within itself the great body of our knowledge. I am absolutely certain that I experience sensations, that I who experience them exist, and that the sensations have a cause; but I can be only probably certain that this particular concrete object was the cause. It is exceedingly easy for the most cautious person living to be mistaken in his judgments, and to draw wrong inferences from the data furnished by any one or all of his senses; and he can never be absolutely certain that he draws the right one. All the wisest man in the world can do is carefully to estimate the probabilities in the case and act accordingly. To say of a thing, "I have seen it with my own eyes," is only to make its existence probable; and to obey the injunction, "Handle me and see," can give only probable knowledge.

In every discussion of this sort a clear distinction should always be made between intuitively knowing and believing. I intuitively know a thing to be true when I am absolutely certain of it; I believe a thing to be true when I fall short, however little, of such certainty. That is to say, belief is simply imperfect knowledge. It is any kind of knowledge, in any sphere, which fails, in any respect, of being absolute. No proposition, perhaps, is more familiar to a beginner in logic than the statement, "All men are mortal," but even that assertion can be to him nothing more than a matter of a high degree of probability. For he has known only a very few men in the past, and as to those who may come to exist in the future he cannot positively assert that they will possess that property. He simply believes the proposition to be true, in just the same way, and no other, as he might believe in a

material heaven, or a mountain of gold, or the real existence of a centaur.

Every natural scientist, I suppose, accepts and teaches the doctrine that every particle of matter attracts every other particle directly as the mass and inversely as the square of the distance. But he has examined only a few of the particles; and, from the very nature of the case, he can never be certain that those he has not examined are exactly like those he has. The doctrine furnishes him with a good working hypothesis. The probabilities are very high in its favor. But all he has any right to say about it is that he believes in the law of gravitation, not that he is absolutely certain of its truthfulness.

And so it is when we come to the realm of theology. We employ the same finite powers of mind in constructing a theology as in forming a science of botany or of physics. There is no difference in the kind of knowledge we have of each, but only in the class of objects taken into consideration. And my faith in the truth or falsity of their respective doctrines, and the degree of my faith in them, should always vary with the degree of their probability.

Theology, properly understood, is the science which seeks to account for the universe from the standpoint of God. It attempts to put all the known facts together into a system around this idea. It does not draw its material from any alleged revelation alone, although the revelation, if true, will furnish some of its most important data. But it gathers its material from every realm of knowledge. Every new fact discovered in any quarter of the universe increases its material, and every old supposed fact exploded diminishes it.

Now, all the facts that any man can possibly know

may best be divided, for our present purpose, into two classes, internal facts and external facts. By internal facts we mean the facts of one's own consciousness, and by external facts, all else that can be mentioned. The former are certain to one, the latter merely probable. Every man who constructs a botany, or a geology, or any other science, makes it out of probable facts only. Every man who writes a history states and explains nothing of which he can be more than probably certain. How evident it is, then, that he who seeks to give unity to all the sciences, to explain the universe in which the great mass of the facts are only probable, can never attain to more than a probable solution of the problem, and can never justly ask another to accept his conclusions on any other ground than the high degree of their probability.

Great thinkers, from Thales, Plato, and Moses, have had their theologies—their explanations of the origin and nature of the universe, as they understood it, and many of these explanations have been of extraordinary merit; but even St. Paul himself could never have been certain that his explanation was more than a probably true one.

Three great systems of theology are presented in the New Testament. Some prefer that of St. Paul; some find the Petrine theology more to their mind; while others adhere to that of St. John. The Apostles' Creed contains, perhaps, the sum and substance of all three; but no assertion in it transcends the realm of the probable. A brief examination of the creed itself will make this apparent. It begins with the statement, "I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth." Now, the existence of a Power back of nature and all finite being, like one's own existence,

is a matter of positive certainty ; but any assertion concerning the nature of that Power, since it is an induction from probable facts, can never be more than probable. When we say, therefore, with the creed, that God is the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, we are asserting something about the nature of the Supreme Being of which no man can be more than probably certain. The degree of confidence we are justified in having in this statement depends on the degree of its probable truthfulness.

Take, again, the statement of the creed concerning the nature and mission of Jesus : " And in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord ; who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary ; suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried ; He descended into hell ; the third day He rose from the dead ; He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God, the Father Almighty ; from thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead."

Whether there ever existed on the earth such a person as Jesus, and what he experienced, are purely matters of historical evidence. And as everything that is a matter of evidence is a matter of probability, this must be also. We can never be absolutely certain that those who wrote his history were really acquainted with the facts of his life, or have honestly represented them, or that their testimony, after being once recorded, has not been so frequently and radically altered as to give us to-day, in some respects, an erroneous conception of the truth. Even if we regard the record as it stands as veritable history, the doctrine of the actual divinity of Jesus, that he is in reality son of God as well as son of man, is an induction from certain alleged

facts, and can, therefore, never be established beyond all possible doubt.

The creed closes with the affirmation : " I believe in the Holy Ghost ; the Holy Catholic Church ; the communion of saints ; the forgiveness of sins ; the resurrection of the body ; and the life everlasting."

The writer of this passage, from the data that he had before him, simply drew the conclusion that the arguments in favor of these propositions were far stronger than those against them ; and, accordingly, he was ready to say concerning them, as he does say in the statement itself, " I believe "—not " I am absolutely certain of their truthfulness."

But it makes no difference to the matter in hand from what source he obtained his information. Even if we allow that every word in Scripture came directly from the lips of the Almighty, no man could ever be more than probably certain that he correctly heard the words when they were uttered, or correctly wrote them down, or correctly understood them after they were written, either by themselves or in their mutual relations. There is always room for possible doubt concerning any of these assertions ; and all that the profoundest thinker can do for them is to establish their probable truthfulness.

What we have said concerning the so-called Apostles' Creed applies with equal force and validity to every creed in Christendom and to every system of theology, however elaborately constructed or however dogmatically expressed. The most certain of their generalizations are probable, and probable only, and those who teach them are never justified in urging their acceptance upon others on any other ground. The only theology that has any basis for its existence is an inductive

theology; and just as "all inductions in physical science are only probable," so they are in theological science also.

It is never necessary, in fact it is never possible, to do more for any doctrine in any department of inquiry than to show that the balance of probabilities is in its favor. When we have shown that, we have made the doctrine worthy of credence, we are entirely justified in accepting it as a truth and adopting it as a rule of conduct.

He who says of any generalization in any sphere of thought that he will not accept it as true until he is absolutely certain of it, literally does not know enough to eat when he is hungry, or to drink when he is thirsty. The conduct of an ordinary idiot would put him to the blush. As John Locke so tersely puts it, "He that will not stir until he infallibly knows that the business he goes about will succeed, will have but little else to do but to sit still and perish."

Every man, because he is a man, is endowed with powers for forming judgments, and he is placed in this world to develop and apply those powers to all the objects with which he comes in contact. In every sphere of investigation he should begin with doubt, and the student will make the most rapid progress who has acquired the art of doubting well. But doubt is simply a means to an end, not an end in itself. We begin with doubt in order that we may not end with it. To continue to doubt after the material for forming a judgment is before the mind, is a sign of weakness. The man who does so commits intellectual suicide. All you can do for him is to give him a decent burial and pass on.

We ask that every student of theology take up the

subject precisely as he would any other science ; that he begin with doubt, and carefully weigh the arguments for every doctrine, accepting or rejecting each assertion according as the balance of probabilities is for or against it. We demand that he thoroughly "test all things," and thus learn how to "hold fast that which is good."

We believe that even the teachings of Jesus should be viewed from this standpoint, and should be accepted or rejected on the ground of their inherent reasonableness. But we also firmly believe that the probabilities that he spoke the truth are so high that they can never be made any higher ; that, when his doctrines concerning God and man and nature are correctly apprehended, it will clearly be seen that they fully satisfy the demands of the intellect and the cravings of the heart. And we do not regard it as at all likely that any theology of the future will have much influence over the minds of the thoughtful that does not draw its chief and most important data from that source.

Superficial critics call the age in which we live an age of novel-reading and devotion to trifles ; but the more thoughtful observer does not hesitate to affirm that it is unsurpassed in earnestness.

True, it is disinclined to acknowledge the supernatural. True, it is more inquiring than asserting, more doubting than believing. Yet there probably never has been a time in our history when purely spiritual questions have been so widely and seriously discussed as at present. The creeds of the world, both Christian and un-Christian, have never before been studied with such universal interest, or criticised with such unsparing vigor.

In fact, the one pre-eminent demand of the present hour is a truly scientific theology—not a Chinese nor a Roman nor an Anglican theology, not a Baptist nor a Methodist nor a Presbyterian theology, not a Mosaic nor exclusively a Pauline theology, but a theology so cautiously constructed as to exclude all fiction, and so profound and comprehensive in its teachings as to include all the facts.

But this imperative need of the age will never be satisfied until every student of the subject clearly recognizes the fact, and constantly applies it, that in theology, as in every other department of knowledge, all generalizations are matters of a high or a low degree of probability, to be accepted or rejected according as the balance of probabilities is for or against them; and that the degree of confidence we should have in such generalizations is to be determined by the degree of their probable truthfulness.

This position, it may be said, requires that all our theological opinions should be very largely regarded as products of faith. We admit it at once, and we reply that this is true of all opinions. Faith lies at the basis of every science. So far from faith commencing where science ends, "there could no more be science without faith than there could be extension without space."

What Professor Rice has so fittingly said in his *Twenty-five Years of Scientific Progress* about the physical sciences applies with equal relevancy here: "From the clear recognition of the extremely narrow limits within which certitude is attainable, we may learn the rationality and wisdom of acting upon beliefs which are probable, and acting with an earnestness proportionate to the importance of the interest in-

volved. We may learn to walk by faith more steadily by perceiving that, in this universe in which we live, only he who is willing to walk by faith can walk at all."

CHAPTER X.

HUMAN IMMORTALITY AND ITS RELATION TO RELIGION.

DR. F. C. S. SCHILLER, formerly of Cornell University, but now of Oxford, in the *Fortnightly Review* for September, 1901, discusses at length the question, "Do Men Desire Immortality?" and he does not hesitate to affirm that "to find it a dominating, or even an important, influence in human psychology, one would have to seek it, not in the churches or the universities, and still less amid the bustle of active life, but in the asylums in which are secluded the unhappy victims of religious mania or melancholy, in whom an insane logic has overpowered the healthy indifference to death and its consequences, characteristic of the make-up of the normal mind."

"Where," said Dr. William Osler of Johns Hopkins, in his lecture at Harvard last year on "Science and Immortality," "where among the educated and refined, much less among the masses, do we find any ardent desire for a future life? . . . Immortality, and all that it may mean, is a dead issue in the great movements of the world."

Professor Leuba of Bryn Mawr College, in the *International Journal of Ethics* for October, 1903, concludes a searching criticism of Professor Hyslop's recent "Report on Seventeen Sitzings with Mrs. Piper" with these words: "Professor Hyslop's careful investiga-

tion may have at least one good result—the moderation of the disturbing wish of a certain class of people for a future life. They may learn to face the actual present more resolutely and wisely. . . . And as to the Christian religion, forswearing its stupendous mistake regarding the future life, it would, let us hope, have grace enough to turn around and, instead of leading men to immortality, endeavor to deliver them from it, even as Buddhism does.”

These and similar utterances from many quarters clearly indicate that the doctrine of a future life for man is held in serious question, and they fully justify the attempt to give the matter a fresh examination. We therefore definitely raise the inquiry, Is the doctrine, in the light of modern knowledge, any longer to be regarded as a probable truth?

But before betaking ourselves directly to our task, we would remark that if the doctrine of human immortality should turn out to be fallacious, religion would not be annihilated thereby. We do not agree with a recent writer on the subject that “we can as little conceive of religion without immortality as without God.” For religion is not founded primarily upon the fact of death or any other similar phenomenon. It is the natural creation of the mind of man as a knowing, feeling, and willing being. If human life should be indefinitely prolonged, such a change in the ordinary ongoings of nature would not destroy it.

Students of anthropology are now generally agreed that belief in existence after death is co-extensive with the human race. It springs up spontaneously in every man, and he sets out on his career as a man with the assumption of its truthfulness. Dr. Brinton, in his

work on *Religions of Primitive Peoples*, clearly expresses this fact concerning primeval man when he says, "To him all things live and live forever." His gods being the source of life, he could no more die than they could. Doubt regarding a future life never arises in the infancy of any race or individual. It comes only when the facts of human experience seem to call it in question. Many religions, it is true, have a vague notion of immortality, and some deny it altogether, but they are not primitive. The word "religion" comes from the Romans, and was originally applied to the observance of a set of rites and ceremonies. Considerations bearing upon a future life, or even a regard for morals, had little to do with it. "Belief in immortality," says Professor Granger in his work on *The Religion of the Romans*, "was not a part of the Roman religion any more than was a moral temper of mind." Cæsar's Epicureanism was no bar to his serving as chief pontiff, nor was his wild and dissolute youth. Many people in all ages of the world have come to disbelief in individual immortality, and many reject it to-day. But no one can deprive himself of religion by holding to such an opinion, although the character of his religion will be immensely affected thereby.

At the very outset of our investigation we wish to emphasize the fact that all we are in search of is a probable truth ; for from the very nature of the case no position that can be taken upon this subject can give us certainty. All of the accepted doctrines concerning the origin and destiny of the world in which we live are outside the realm of certain proof. It is no objection, therefore, to the doctrine of human immortality that it does not admit of demonstration. It is a future event, and for that reason cannot be more than probable.

Supposing it could be shown that some men have survived death (and we have no right to hold that all efforts to do so must be futile), that would not prove that many men will, much less that all men will.

The problem that we now have before us is, therefore, simply this: What are the probabilities that man is so made that he survives death and is the possessor of an endless life? Do the probabilities in favor of the doctrine overbalance the probabilities against it, and give us a reasonable ground for ordering our lives in accordance with it as a valid truth? We propose to estimate these probabilities from three standpoints: the origin and nature of man, the rationality of the universe, and the moral character of God.

Every human being, as we all know, begins life as a single organic cell. As this cell develops, a more or less specialized form is assumed. The vertebrate embryo comes into being, and after that the human embryo. In due time the embryo is ready to be born as a fully developed infant. The striking thing about all these changes from cell to embryo, and from embryo to infant, is the fact that the life is continuous. Whatever form the organism takes on in passing through these prenatal stages of its development, it never loses its vital energy. The spark of life, with which it started, is retained to the end. But an equally striking thing is that this individual life continues after birth as truly as before. As the infant grows, he develops into consciousness, and soon shows signs of self-consciousness. He recognizes the existence of other beings like himself, and enters into their thoughts and feelings and purposes.

As youth comes on, all of his experiences increase

and widen. He puts himself back into the time of preceding generations, back to the first appearance of the human race upon this planet, back to the first glimmerings of a visible universe. But in it all he remains one and the same self. His knowledge has changed. His conception of his own powers has changed ; but he has not lost his identity in any of his experiences, either with his own past or with the past of his race.

And so it is when the youth becomes a man and his powers unfold themselves in a wider sphere. His life is continuous in every stage of his development, and always remains identical with itself. These facts concerning the life of man from a single organic cell to the complete unfolding of his powers create at least a presumption in favor of his survival after death, for they simply affirm that the principle of self-identity amid diversity, so evident in all his previous history, will not be annihilated by even this eventful change.

But the greatest of all facts concerning man is that in the process of his development he comes to be a person, the highest of all known existences ; and this fact in particular seems to mark him for a continuous future life. Having attained to self-consciousness, he is able to objectify his ideas and examine into their ground or source. He can investigate the universe and form some conception of its origin and significance. He can discuss the question as to what his own place now is in it, as Huxley and Wallace have done, and have his own opinions as to how he attained this place and what will be his future destiny, as John Fiske has endeavored to point out. The chief aim of nature evidently is to produce such a creature as he turns out to be, an individual possessing the powers of reason and will to such a degree that he can search for the ulti-

mate grounds of things, and apply his knowledge to his own self-development.

Nothing is more apparent as we rise in the scale of organic life than the increase of individuality. In the lowest organisms both animal and vegetable characteristics are so confused that biologists are unable to tell us to which of the two great kingdoms they belong. But this confusion does not long exist. As we ascend in the scale of being we soon find that the life of the organism becomes constantly more separate and distinct. In its higher forms no doubt any longer exists as to its proper classification. This individuality reaches its climax among all the objects of nature in *man*, and that is the reason why man is such an enigma to science.

For individuality, as Caillard has so clearly pointed out, always has a double aspect, an outer and an inner. The outer is open to scientific investigation. Its phenomena are capable of being classified under their appropriate heads. But the inner does not yield itself to this treatment. It stands by itself. It is known only to the man himself. It is the bane of science, because it cannot be generalized. When *man* is treated solely from the external point of view, he is merely a bundle of impressions, a stream of conscious experiences, as Hume and Huxley regard him. But this course ignores the principal thing about man, which is the internal aspect of his individuality, his self-knowledge, which is intuitive, incommunicable to another, stands out alone by itself, and separates him from all other known existences. It is this aspect of man that takes the problem of his future destiny out of the sphere of science, and takes man out of the category of all other organisms open to our knowledge.

The ground for the existence of all lower organisms seems to terminate with death. They find in the visible order of things all the opportunity for development that their powers require, and they die from the natural exhaustion of those powers. The function of man is different. He never is contented with his attainments. He always knows that he could do more and better under more favorable conditions. The more highly educated and cultured he becomes, the more vividly does he realize how limited he is, and how far he falls short of his possibilities. He is always looking to the future, always forming ideals of what he ought to do and become.

This ability to idealize himself and everything about him creates a presumption that he will survive death, that his developed but unused powers will not be forever annihilated by the sudden cessation of the beating of the heart. Of course this presumption, derived from the origin and nature of man, that he is destined to a continuation of life beyond the present, is based simply on the ground that he is fitted to survive the present. It does not establish the fact of such survival. It only furnishes a reasonable expectation, which should be taken into consideration in making our estimate of what probably is to be from what now is and what has been.

It is to be noted, however, that this presumption of a future life for man is far different and far stronger than the one often derived from the history of insect life. When the butterfly emerges from the chrysalis, it leaves its encasement behind it to be resolved into its elements, but it does not take on powers that cannot find their opportunity for a full development in its new sphere. Man, from the very fact of being a man,

possesses such powers, and the more developed he is the more he realizes how much he is hampered and curtailed in their use.

One of the chief objections to this presumption comes from physiological psychology, and arises from the well-established relation of the mind to the brain. Everybody knows that a blow on the head will destroy memory and produce a state of semi-consciousness, that imbecility is due to an arrest of brain development, and that drugs can very quickly change the character of one's ideas by producing an overstimulation of the cells of the brain. Anatomists, physiologists, and pathologists agree not only that thought is a function of the brain, but that special forms of thought are connected with special portions of the brain. Our thoughts about things seen are connected with the occipital lobe, about things heard with the temporal lobe, and when we speak we use a portion of the frontal lobe. All intelligent students of the subject recognize the fact that our minds are absolutely dependent, so far as we know them, upon the brain. Hence the question inevitably arises, how can there be any rational ground for belief in a life hereafter when science has taught almost every schoolboy the fact that the gray matter of the brain is the seat of all our mental powers?

Admitting in every detail the intimate connection of our minds with our bodies, there are at least three different theories that may be taken to account for this relation. One of these theories is well stated and ably maintained by E. Duhring, when he says: "The phenomena of consciousness correspond, element for element, to the operations of special parts of the brain. . . . So far as life extends, we have before us only an

organic function, not a Ding-an-sich, or an expression of that imaginary entity, the Soul. This fundamental proposition . . . carries with it the denial of the immortality of the soul, since where no soul exists, its mortality or immortality cannot be raised as a question." This may well be called the production theory of the relation of mind and body.

Professor Clifford ably champions the combination theory and considers the theory incompatible with individual immortality. "Consciousness," he says, "is not a simple thing, but a complex; it is the combination of feelings into a stream. . . . Inexorable facts connect our consciousness with this body that we know; and that not merely as a whole, but the parts of it are connected severally with parts of our brain-action. If there is any similar connection with a spiritual body, it only follows that the spiritual body must die with the natural one."

But there is a third theory of this relation open to our choice, namely the transmission theory, which Professor James has recently elaborated. "When we think of the law that thought is a function of the brain," he says, "we are not required to think of productive function only; we are entitled also to consider permissive or transmissive function. And this the ordinary psycho-physiologist leaves out of his account." According to this latter view, he goes on to say, "our soul's life, as we here know it, would none the less in literal strictness be the function of the brain. The brain would be the independent variable, the mind would vary dependently on it." As this permissive theory fully accounts for all the facts as well as either of the other theories, we are justified in adopting it as the true theory, and in holding that the inherent

probability of man's continuous existence after death is not set aside by any known interdependence of mind and body.

But the probability in favor of the continuance of human personality after death is greatly increased when we come to consider the constitution of the universe and the evidences that exist there of a rational plan or purpose.

Astronomy, geology, biology, psychology, and all the other sciences, as well as philosophy itself, would perish if the rationality of the universe should be denied or seriously doubted. If man did not take it for granted that his mind was rationally constructed, and could, under the guidance of the laws of thought, detect fallacies in his own mental processes and the processes of others, he would never undertake the formation of a science. Nor would he undertake it if he did not assume that the universe is capable of being understood by the application of those laws. Otherwise all motive for scientific study would be wanting. The very idea of making the attempt to comprehend things scientifically would never enter the mind. Every human being would be as listless and indifferent to the nobler aspects of the universe around him as a brute.

The moment the mind begins to see the order that reigns in nature, it must assert that this order exists for an intelligible end. Now the assumption of human immortality fits in with this teleological view of the universe. It fills out that view and helps to give it a solid basis. Otherwise, the highest known products of the universe—rational beings and their ideals—have no permanent place in the system of things.

In assuming a future life we merely maintain that the same rational end which holds good in this present

world will hold good in another ; that what we see to be rational before death will be rational after. The survival of personality is based upon the implication that the opportunity for realizing perfection offered in the present order of things will not be annihilated almost at the very moment when it begins to be attained.

All sound ethics in our present life requires that we should regard a self-conscious being as of far higher value than any form of matter. It demands with no uncertain voice that we reverence personality above impersonal force. Is it, then, too much to say that no ethics can show itself rational without ascribing at least the same degree of reality and permanence to personality as science everywhere ascribes to mere matter ? In the light of our present knowledge the three great postulates of a rational theory of the universe are the conservation of physical energy, the indestructibility of matter, and the conservation of personality. Each of these postulates requires the other two to give us a harmonious survey of the entire field of investigation that is open to our view.

But the presumption of a future life for man is after all chiefly dependent upon our conception of the nature and character of God. The existence of a Supreme Being is here assumed, and so is also the view that this Supreme Being is a Person. It would, of course, be too great a diversion from our present purpose to attempt any statement of the grounds for these assumptions. But granting their truthfulness, it is not difficult to see that the probability of human immortality is greatly affected by the character of this Being, and will rise or fall according as we believe or disbelieve in his moral trustworthiness.

The perfect goodness of the Supreme Being is evidently not capable of demonstration, but it is the only ground upon which we can account for all the good in the world and hope for a good issue from all the evil. Human life cannot be understood without it. If God is the Father of mankind, as well as the Creator, the total of human history has some rational significance. And just as we base our belief in the hypotheses of science upon the completeness of their working, so we should assume the moral perfection or infinite goodness of the Supreme Being from the order and hope that flow from it.

If we grant this goodness, then the endless life of man follows as a necessary corollary. For if God is infinitely wise and good, he will not annihilate man at death, cutting him off in the infancy of his powers. The reason and conscience in God will find their permanent expression in the reason and conscience of man. God will seek in man, possessed to some extent of like powers with himself, perpetual fellowship. For man is continually finding himself able, with ever-increasing approximation to the truth, to "think the thoughts of God after him."

This implies that the human and divine have, to some extent, a common nature ; just as man's power, partially at least, to transcend in thought the temporal implies some relation to the eternal. It is hard to see how any being thus capable of entering into ethical relationship with God could drop out of existence without occasioning a definite loss to God, leaving a void in his experience that no other being could fill.

Each finite human person is a unique ethical being of far more worth to God than he is to himself. No other creature can take just the place he takes in his

relationship to God. The value of man is, therefore, beyond all human calculation. For he is not only derived from God and sustained by him, but he is the reflex of his own infinite powers. How can we possibly regard death as the termination of this relationship? Must it rather not be a mere incident in the earthly system of things, of no significance outside the physical order with which alone it is concerned?

This doctrine of the natural immortality of man is, of course, no new thing in history. On the contrary, it has been strongly maintained by many of the greatest thinkers of our race. Plato held that birth and death are but phases of the same life flowing out from and returning to the fountain of Being, that our powers for discovering the order of the world declare our divine origin. Origen, one of the greatest intellects of his age, stoutly upholds the endless life of man. Death, he declares, has no power over the soul, for it existed before time in the invisible world of spirits and is kindred in essence to God himself. Berkeley cannot find anywhere in this universe a hint that death is the decay of spirit, for spirit is self-active, unchanging in its nature, and absolutely permanent. Variation and decay are foreign to its very essence.

It is doubtful if a more solid piece of reasoning in favor of a future life for man has ever been constructed than that set forth by Bishop Butler. He does not attempt to demonstrate human immortality, but to point out its inherent probability, and to show why a wise man will shape his life in accordance with it. His argument is based upon the fundamental maxim that whatever exists now will presumably exist forever unless it can be made evident that something fatal to that

existence stands in the way. If it cannot be shown that death is the destruction of the soul, the fact that the soul exists now constitutes a strong probability that nothing will destroy it, and that it is endowed with an endless life.

To Kant the sublimest fact in the consciousness of man is duty. In it he finds the explanation of human life and the pledge of immortality. Duty requires perfect conformity to the moral law, but perfect conformity in this life is an impossibility. All that can be done is to start toward the goal which will require an endless future for its complete realization. But the Highest who gave the law and commands man to attain it will see that the means are provided, and will confer upon him an everlasting life.

Such are a few of the utterances upon this subject by the leading minds of the past, and the matter has by no means been neglected by the thinkers of the present. Indeed, within the past few years in our own country, to say nothing of other lands, many of our ablest intellectual leaders—Royce, Gordon, Fiske, and others—have given the matter their profoundest thought, and there is a substantial agreement among them that man is destined to an immortal life. The more we know of this present life the more vivid and definite does this conviction come to be. It has always been true that life has brought immortality to light just in proportion as it has come to realize its own dignity and put a just estimate upon its own worth.

The doctrine of human immortality in the past has often been associated with grossly sensual conceptions and radically false ideals. Some, in their extreme advocacy of "other worldliness," have fallen little short

of making earth a hell, in order to merit heaven. The notion of a future life commonly entertained in our day is derived from the dark ages, and partakes of the narrowness and ignorance of man and nature characteristic of that period. Enlightened people of the present generation, with their ever-broadening field of knowledge, have little use for such a view. Moreover, it is unquestionably true that our actual duties lie in our present environment, and anything is a blessing that will keep man sufficiently in the dark regarding his future destiny to force him to attend properly to his daily terrestrial tasks. What can be more unwise and futile than to spend our time in preaching to the immortal souls of men, while we do nothing to relieve the distress and anguish of their mortal bodies? In a certain sense it is true that if we live up to the demands of the Golden Rule in the life that now is, the future will take care of itself.

But, after all, how can we properly conform to this rule without some knowledge of the true range and bearing of the present life? If the existence of ourselves and of all other persons, past, present, and to come, is limited to the world that now is, that fact must vastly affect our conception of our present duties. A thousand and one enterprises for the advancement of mankind in knowledge and virtue will not be entered upon at all if this is taken as our standpoint. We could not tolerate the slow progress and bitter disappointments that we know would inevitably be our lot.

The unrest and overeagerness for results which now often impede individual development and retard the cause of social regeneration, would be immensely lessened if more emphasis were put upon the larger hope, the wider outlook. The gloom of our personal

bereavements, and the shock that comes with the first consciousness of the decay of our natural powers, the sufferings of the incurably diseased, the horrors endured by the victims of war and pestilence, and the long catalogue of ills due to the ignorance and the neglect, the oppression and the despair, of mankind would not cut the nerve of manly endeavor half so frequently as they now do, if eternity, instead of time, were taken as our point of view.

The apathy often apparent in the Christian church concerning "the life everlasting" is not due so much to historical criticism of the ground of its belief, or the lack of scientific proof of its position, as to the low ideal that is generally taken of what that life is. When we think of it as we have a right to think of it, not simply as a condition of freedom from the cares and sorrows and turmoils of the world, a state of merely passive contemplation, but one where all healthful and normal capacities will be utilized, where whatever of intellectual and emotional and moral power we possess will be completely and joyfully employed, we will impart a dignity and significance to the present life that cannot fail to be the source of untold inspiration to manly effort, and a perpetual foundation of mental serenity and peace.

CHAPTER XI.

THE PRESENT-DAY CONCEPTION OF GOD.

JOHN FISKE, in his little book on *The Idea of God*, writing of the different conceptions of the Deity that have prevailed at various times in the course of history, gives us in some detail his own first conception of him. "I imagined," he says, "a narrow office just over the zenith, with a tall standing desk running lengthwise, upon which lay several open ledgers bound in coarse leather. There was no roof over this office, and the walls rose scarcely five feet from the floor, so that a person standing at the desk could look out over the whole world. There were two persons at the desk, and one of them, a tall slender man, of aquiline features, wearing spectacles, with a pen in his hand and one behind his ear—was God. The other, whose appearance I do not distinctly recall, was an attendant angel. Both were diligently watching the deeds of men and recording them in the ledgers."

Something like this childish conception of God dominates the thinking of all undeveloped people, and even the early Christians were much affected by it. For they could not help being immensely influenced by the form of government with which they came in daily contact. Almost without exception they came to regard God as a great celestial monarch. In the Roman system, with which alone they were familiar, the Emperor was the mysterious source of all authority

and power. He ruled by arbitrary fiat. These he first made known to his immediate subordinates, and they in turn proclaimed them to their lieutenants, whose mission it was to communicate them to the people at large and see to it that they were implicitly obeyed.

When the Roman empire went to pieces its place was taken in almost every particular by the Roman Church, the officials of the former being supplanted by the officials of the latter ; at the same time the leaders of the church took upon themselves even more extended powers. Long before the beginning of the Middle Ages the ecclesiastical system had reached such a degree of development and had secured such a strong hold upon the people that practically no one thought of approaching God except through a long line of church officials reaching from the curate up to the Pope.

In the early part of the fifth century Augustine came into prominence in the church, and his superior abilities almost at once placed him in the foremost rank as the mouthpiece of the system. Hence it is to him that we are to look for the medieval conception of God and the ideas of man and the world that are connected with it. Augustine's two great books, *The Confessions* and *The City of God*, are the chief sources of our knowledge of his views. The former was written about 400 and the second completed in 426. From the study of these books we find that Augustine thought of God as a great Imperial Czar, who after an infinitely long period of inaction determined to create a world. This he did some four thousand years before the Christian era, and made it out of nothing in six natural days.

He first created the angels. They are the "light" referred to in the Scriptures as God's first act. Some of them immediately rebelled against him and set up a rival kingdom under their leader Satan. Then he created the material universe, and when it was finished everything in it was essentially just as it is at present. Adam, the first man, he made out of the dust of the earth, and endowed him with every conceivable perfection both of mind and body. But Adam sinned and God cast him out of the garden in which he had placed him, and left him to care for himself.

Before doing it, however, God cursed the ground, and caused it to bring forth thorns and thistles, so that Adam should be compelled to earn his bread by hard labor until the time came for him to return to the dust out of which he had been formed. Voluntarily depraved and justly condemned for disobeying the commands of his Maker, Adam begot depraved and condemned children. For, as Augustine argues, we were all in him, when "all of us" consisted of him alone; and as his nature was stained by sin, God gave him and all his posterity over to corruption and death, just as any earthly potentate would do in case a subject rebelled against him and refused to conform his conduct to the behests of his lord.

But God was not to have his purpose in creating a world thus summarily brought to naught. He determined to institute a system of grace by which he could withdraw a portion of the human race from the general ruin; and to do this he sent his Son into the world to pay the needed ransom. As man had had nothing to do with effecting this reconciliation, the selection of those who were to be benefited by it rested solely with God. There thus arose alongside of the earthly state of man

the state or city of God. Those in the latter were to reign eternally with God, while those in the former were to suffer eternal punishment with the Devil.

Augustine combats with vigor those who hold that God would be acting unjustly to punish all men forever regardless of their efforts to love and serve him. On the contrary he maintains that God is perfectly justified in conferring his "irresistible grace" upon those he chooses without reference to their present conduct, as monuments of his mercy, while he leaves the majority to eternal damnation as the monuments of his justice.

The church, says Augustine, prays for all men, but if she knew with certainty who the persons are that are predestined by God "to go into the eternal fire with the Devil" she would no more pray for them than for the Devil.

Although this conception of God as a Celestial Czar advocated by Augustine was generally accepted by the recognized leaders of the church during the Middle Ages, yet Anselm, the famous Archbishop of Canterbury, some six centuries after the time of Augustine, did much to strengthen it by his book entitled, *Cur Deus Homo?* or *Why did God Become Man?*

In this book he assumes practically all of Augustine's positions, but objects to the view held before his time by such leaders as Origen, Ambrosius, Leo the Great, and many others, that God sent his Son into the world as a ransom to the Devil. His own view was that incarnation follows of necessity, if God adopts a method of salvation at all. For sin against God is an offence of infinite degree and demands an infinite satisfaction.

In spite of his goodness God cannot pardon sin without compounding his honor. He must, therefore,

either destroy humanity entirely or inflict upon it the eternal punishment of hell. There is only one way for God to escape from this dilemma, and that is by taking upon himself this punishment. For man is a finite being and incapable of rendering to God an infinite satisfaction. However long he might be punished it would all be of no avail. If, therefore, God is to save at all, he must become man in Christ, and Christ must suffer and die as our substitute. Christ having thus laid up a storehouse of infinite merit and acquired the right to a corresponding recompense, God assigns this recompense to that part of the human race that was to be forgiven and restored to divine favor.

The first noticeable signs of any discontent with these medieval views of God appeared a few generations after the time of Anselm in a work published by Peter Lombard, Bishop of Paris, entitled, *Four Books of Sentences*. The work was chiefly a collection of quotations from the church Fathers, but in some of his commentaries on the doctrines laid down in these quotations, the author naïvely propounded such questions as the following: If God made heaven and earth at the same time out of nothing, where was he before there was any heaven? Could God have made things better than they are? What kind of bodies do angels have, and in what form do they appear to men? Why was Eve taken from the side of Adam and not from some other part of his body? Why was she made while Adam was asleep? Would all men live forever on this earth if Adam had not sinned? Would children have come into the world full-grown as Adam and Eve did? Why did not God incarnate himself in a woman instead of a man?

No real attempt was made by Lombard to answer

these questions, and the raising of them does not appear to have shaken his faith or that of his readers, so far as we know, in the conception of God as a Celestial Czar, nor did all the upheavals of the Reformation have any effect in that direction. For the Protestants did not differ from the Catholics on this matter. The only question between them was : What is the source of our authority for the view? The one said the church and the Bible, and the other looked to the Bible alone.

It was not till the last century that any real opposition to the medieval conception of God appeared in history, and then not in the ranks of the church, but from a source quite outside of its sphere of influence.

The first attack upon this conception came from the students of geology. They began to investigate the question whether God actually made the earth in six natural days about four thousand years before the Christian era. There is little or no doubt in our time but that the earth very gradually came into its present form and has been in existence many times six thousand years. The arguments for this view are derived chiefly from two sources, the facts now known concerning the cooling of the earth to reach its present status, and those concerning the changes that have occurred in the heat of the sun. For the sun and all its planets were once one common mass of gaseous matter, and the process of separation and of becoming what they now are must be accounted for.

G. K. Gilbert, of the United States Geological Survey, has well expressed the probable facts in the matter. "Estimates of the earth's age," he says, "based on geological data have ranged from ten or twenty million years to as many billion years. Limits derived from the refrigeration of the earth range from twenty million

to four hundred million years. The limiting period determined by the sun is estimated at from ten to twenty million years."

The next attack upon the medieval conception of God came from anthropology. Down to a very recent period it was universally believed that God made man in the full perfection of all his powers, that he first appeared in Central Asia, and that the entire human race has descended from one pair. Now many think that the human race has arisen from many centres, and some careful students would claim Southern Europe or Northern Africa as the oldest of them all. President Warren of Boston University has written an able book entitled, *The North Pole—The Cradle of the Human Race*.

The exact place of man's first appearance is still unsettled, but few if any investigators of to-day take exception to the statement of J. W. Powell, late Director of the United States Bureau of Ethnology, when he says: "Investigations in archæology have now made it clear that man was distributed throughout the habitable world at some very remote time or times in the lowest stage of human culture, when men employed stone tools and other agencies of industry of a like lowly character, and that from this rude condition men have progressed in culture everywhere, but some to a much greater degree than others. The linguistic evidence comes in to sustain the conclusions reached by archæology; for a study of the languages of the world leads to the conclusion that they were developed in a multiplicity of centres."

The biology of to-day is strongly opposed to the medieval view. It teaches us that all organisms are made of a combination of cells and have grown up from a single

microscopic cell. It cannot admit that God made man *de novo* out of the dust of the earth, but it holds that man has ascended from the lower animals and has come into existence after untold ages of the existence of other forms of life upon this planet.

The recent study of history has also contributed to show the defects of this view. God has not confined himself to the Jewish people alone. Other nations great and mighty have existed on this earth, such as the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Romans, and have performed a useful mission. Plato and Aristotle have contributed to the civilization of the world as truly as Moses and Isaiah. God has manifested himself in some degree among all peoples, and has not left any of them utterly without a witness of his existence and care.

Modern astronomy in particular requires a different conception of God to account for its extraordinary revelations. Our planet is now known to be "but a speck in the order of creation, and every other science besides astronomy is concerned with what is going on upon this little speck of matter." The discoveries made possible by the telescope are extending the universe step by step into the domains of infinity. It is now established that although the orbit the earth makes in its annual journey around the sun is one hundred and eighty-six million miles in diameter, it would hardly be noticed when seen from the nearest fixed star. Then, too, each of the innumerable hosts of fixed stars is not merely a point of light in the heavens, but a sun with its possible retinue of inhabited planets.

The famous astronomer Prof. Simon Newcomb sums up a description of the stellar universe by saying: "It is composed of an unknown host of stars, certainly more than fifty million, mostly scattered in irregular

aggregations forming the Milky Way, while many are aggregated in yet closer clusters, some of which are situated within the Milky Way and some without it, and of a number of enormous masses of incandescent gases situated at unknown distances. Our sun is simply one of these fifty million stars, without, so far as we know, any mark to distinguish him among his fellows. He is rather smaller than the average ; removed to one million times his present distance, which is probably the average distance of the stars of the first magnitude, he would shine only as a star of the third or fourth magnitude."

But not only so. Spectrum analysis teaches us that all this vast collection of worlds is composed of essentially the same elements as exist upon the earth, and that essentially the same combinations of these elements are taking place in other parts of this universe as take place here. Consequently we have every right to claim that the same forces are at work to-day as have been at work in all the countless ages of the past ; that creation is going on to-day just as truly and just as extensively as at any time in the past. All that we know about the universe leads us to assert that it is one, and that the same force pervades it all. We have no data for holding that there ever was a time when a Celestial Czar, enthroned in the heavens, created matter and force out of nothing. God has not set up a system of laws to govern the universe, leaving them to operate themselves with here and there an occasional interference.

As John Fiske well states it : " Paley's simile of the watch is no longer applicable to such a world as this. It must be replaced by the simile of the flower. The universe is not a machine, but an organism, with an indwelling principle of life. It was not made, but it has

grown." It is not too much to say that this change in our conception of the universe marks the greatest revolution that has ever occurred in the history of human thought, and demands a corresponding change in our conception of God if we are going to make it fit in with present knowledge.

One of the chief differences between the medieval conception of God and that of to-day concerns the sources of the data out of which it is to be formed. In medieval times it was held that all our knowledge of God came through a supernatural revelation. It was assumed that man had no way of finding out anything about him ; and that unless God himself should choose to come in and make himself known to him, he would perish in utter ignorance of the existence and powers of such a Being. But God did choose, it was claimed, to reveal himself exclusively to the fathers of the Jewish people, and through them this knowledge has been transmitted to us.

The view of to-day is that we get our ideas of God from what we know of the universe about us, and from what we know about ourselves. And the data that have been accumulated during the last few generations on these matters have been so vast that we can well say with Dr. Edward Caird (*The Evolution of Religion*, vol. i., p. 138) that "human knowledge will belie all its past history, if the new light upon man's relation to the world and to his fellow-men, which science is every day bringing to us, does not give occasion to a new solution or interpretation of the idea of God."

From the study of the universe we learn that the various forms of nature have come into existence one after another through the workings of an all-pervading and persistent Force. The harmony of nature is not

something imposed upon it by some power outside of itself, but is inherent in its very being. The conception of matter as inert or dead is entirely outgrown. Everything is quivering with energy, and all the motions of matter are manifestations of Force to which the notion of beginning and end can in no way be applied. The modern doctrines of the indestructibility of matter and the continuity of motion are simply two aspects of the fundamental truth of the persistency of Force.

The most common, but at the same time most impressive illustration that can be given of this unity of nature, as every one admits who stops to reflect upon the matter, is the luminiferous ether. For one can no longer talk of empty space. Every portion of space is filled with a "cosmic jelly" of almost infinite elasticity and hardness. Yet it does not interfere in any perceptible way with the motions of even the most insignificant of the heavenly bodies. Undulations that we call heat, light, magnetism, electricity, and the like, radiating from millions of centre points, run along this substance, crossing each other in every conceivable direction; and although this has been going on forever, so far as we know, we have no evidence that the harmony of the motions in the universe has ever been in the least disturbed thereby.

Now all these considerations should have a fundamental influence upon our conception of God. We should see that this Infinite Eternal Energy from which all things proceed, and which forever sustains everything that is, and keeps each part of the universe in perfect accord with every other part, is a primary factor in this conception. We should freely admit with Origen and Cousin that we have no other way of thinking about the relation of God to the world than by

affirming, as they did, that "God is no more without a world than a world is without God."

Probably no writer more clearly and concisely expresses this truth as seen in the light of present knowledge than Herbert Spencer when he says : " Amid the mysteries which become the more mysterious the more they are thought about, there will remain this one absolute certainty, that we are ever in the presence of an Infinite Eternal Energy from which all things proceed." This conception of God prevents us from regarding him as the great First Cause ; for he is the one without whom nothing is and with whom everything is. He is the only Cause, and there are in nature no secondary causes.

The ancient Hebrews were literally correct in saying : " He gathereth the waters of the sea together as a heap. He layeth up the depth in storehouses. He causeth the grass to grow for the cattle, and herb for the service of man. He looketh on the earth and it trembleth. He toucheth the hills and they smoke." They went to the very bottom of the subject, though perhaps they were far wiser than they knew, when they spoke of God as the one "who coverest thyself with light as with a garment ; who stretchest out the heavens like a curtain ; who layeth the beams of his chambers in the waters ; who maketh the clouds his chariot ; who walketh upon the wings of the wind."

Every act of nature is the direct act of God. God is in nature and in all of it. Its laws are simply his ways of working. God is, therefore, never to be thought of as afar off. He is present in every stone and leaf and flower at every moment. As Tennyson says in his poem on "The Higher Pantheism" : "The sun, the moon, the stars, the seas, the hills, and the plains, Are

not these, O soul, the vision of Him who reigns? . . . Closer is He than breathing, and nearer than hands or feet."

There is, therefore, no room for a distinction in this universe between the natural and the supernatural. We can apply either word to all that takes place, but not both words. The truth requires us to assert that all the phenomena of nature are of the same sort. God is in all phenomena, and if there were no God we should have no phenomena. God is all the time changing the forms of his manifestation. The phenomena of yesterday are not the phenomena of to-day. In other words, God never stops creating. As Lyman Abbott keeps reiterating, every day is a creating day, and every new leaf or sprig or flower is a new creation.

From the history of the development of life upon this planet, and especially from the life of man, we learn that there is another element that should also enter into our conception of God, namely, that the Infinite Eternal Energy in the universe is a Power that makes for righteousness. There is a progress in the events that are constantly going on, and this progress shows a righteous plan or purpose about us. This is clearly discernible in the arrangements nature has made for the production of higher forms of life out of lower. All the chief stages of this progress are now depicted with such detail that he who runs may read, and the grand consummation towards which all organic evolution is tending is the production of the highest form of psychical life. This has gone on, it is true, through countless ages of toil and trouble, but it has now progressed so far that the glory of the end or purpose admits of no reasonable doubt.

Under the sway of natural law those organisms have

survived that were fitted to bring about what we now know to be a fact, namely, that higher and higher individuals appeared upon the scene of action, endowed with capacities for an increasingly varied and richer life. All the dramas of life and death that took place during the ages of geologic history led up to the appearance of such organisms, so that, as another expresses it, "the whole scheme was teleological, and each single act of natural selection had a teleological meaning." The existence of an end or plan or purpose in the universe was never so evident as in the light of present knowledge. It is, however, only the form of the argument for a design in the universe that has changed in recent times, not the argument itself. The old natural theology represented by Paley insisted, as we have seen, upon the simile of the watch. Modern thought supplants that with the simile of the flower, which makes the argument for design a thousand-fold more wonderful and impressive. For it depends chiefly for its cogency upon the phenomena of life.

Never before in history has the reasonableness in the world been so evident as it is now. For never before has there been such a flood of light thrown upon the origin and nature of man as now. His existence is now seen to be due to a change in the working of natural selection, as John Fiske has so clearly pointed out. Before his time physical variations were selected and psychical variations ignored. Then came a time when the situation changed. Psychical variations were selected and physical variations ignored. The long infancy of man made the family possible, and the family led to human society with the beginnings of political, moral, and religious ideas and sentiments.

Man with these ideas and sentiments became a different being from all lower creatures, not only in degree but kind, and capable of a progress to which we can set no conceivable limits. All the forms of life below man use their energy to develop their physical powers. They always carry out the motto : Eat and drink for the glory of the body. With man began the process of using the body for the life of the soul. He is capable of following the injunction, Whether ye eat or drink, do all for the glory of the spirit. He can, therefore, develop to ever-increasing degrees of perfection. Thus man is seen to be the crown and glory of the universe, and his moral discipline its ultimate ground or end. In other words, the universe is so constructed that a rational plan dominates in it. The power that it reveals makes for righteousness. And we have no other way of properly accounting for this power than by looking upon it as one of the essential elements in our conception of God.

No people ever had such an appreciation of this power in the universe that makes for righteousness, as the ancient Hebrews. "The word righteousness," as Matthew Arnold has well pointed out, "is the master-word of the Old Testament." And he might have added it is the master-word of the New Testament also. The Old Testament writers are constantly exhorting their readers to adopt "the way of the righteous." Sinners shall not stand "in the congregation of the righteous." Instead of observing meaningless ceremonies as others did around them, they were exhorted to "offer sacrifices of righteousness." "The way of righteousness is life, and in the pathway thereof there is no death." And from the outset of their history they keep asserting of God, "Shall not the judge

of all the earth do right?" "A God of truth, just and right is he." "Righteousness," they declare, "is the habitation of his throne." "The righteous Lord loveth righteousness; his countenance doth behold the upright." The primary injunction of the New Testament is of a similar import: "Seek ye first the kingdom of heaven and its righteousness." The gospel itself is declared to be "the word of righteousness," and in the world to come we are told it is the righteous who "shall shine forth as the sun."

If we think of God as in our day we have a right to think of him, we shall say that he is the Infinite Eternal Energy from which all things proceed, and that he is the Power in the universe from which all righteousness proceeds.

But these two aspects of God, important as they are, only lead us on to a third aspect, namely, the aspect of him as a knowing, feeling, and willing being; our study of the phenomena of nature discloses to us in part what God is. The study of the phenomena of human history adds still further data about him. And proceeding in exactly the same way, we have to look to the mental operations going on in the universe for still more light on the subject.

Beings that know, and feel, and will, have come forth from God. He must, therefore, be adequate to their production; whatever else that is higher he may be capable of doing, he must be capable of knowing, feeling, and willing. We have certainly just as good ground for holding that God produces man with all his powers as that he produces the tree or the flower. We are scientifically justified in maintaining that God knows what is going on in the universe and feels an interest in it. We may, therefore, truly say that God

is "the Beginning and End of all knowledge," and that he is the "master-light of all our seeing"; for every truth is one of his thoughts. If there were no God there would be no truth, nothing for us to know, and consequently no opportunity to feel or to do. We cannot know anything that God does not know, and we have no powers for willing what he cannot will.

There is a sense in which man is in the image of God and God is in the image of man, although the two propositions are not identical. The Greek and Roman mythology grossly exaggerated the latter view and the Hebrews often misinterpreted the former. All we assert here is that God is capable of doing all that man can do. Whether he has any other mental powers, it is beyond us to say. At all events, we certainly have no right to put upon him the limitations to the exercise of his powers that we everywhere find imposed upon ourselves. We have no reason for believing, however, that he ever contradicts himself and acts in one capacity in such a way as to nullify what he does in another, as we sometimes do.

While every new manifestation that God may make of himself in the future will shed new light on what he is, the highest form under which he has already manifested himself of which we have any knowledge is that of a Father. For human fatherhood, rightly understood, is the highest of all his products. For this reason our highest conception of God is that of a Father, and we ought to fashion all of our notions of him in accordance with this point of view.

That Jesus did this and exhorted his disciples to do it, places him above all other teachers of any time or country. Not only does the model prayer he taught his disciples show this, but from the beginning to the

end of his ministry he was constantly asserting to his followers that God was his Father and their Father. All anybody had to do, he says, to lead a righteous life, is to do the will of the Father. Even his famous parable of the Prodigal Son is chiefly intended to show the love of the Father. It is entirely safe to say that if we could once adequately comprehend what is meant by the statement, God is our Father, we should have all the theology we need, all we are capable of apprehending with our present powers.

In the light of this conception of God we see how radically the old medieval view of things must be changed. We have already disposed of its notion of creation out of nothing, and have shown how its assumption of a strict line of division between the supernatural and the natural, between a special and a general Providence, must disappear with God as the one only cause of all that is, and the one who always proceeds in a regular and orderly way to accomplish his purpose.

Now this conception of God as our Father reveals the fact that he always loves his children. There never was a time when he did not love them and was not ready to forgive them when they went astray. He has always been saying to those who disobey him, "Turn ye, turn ye from your evil ways, for why will ye die?" We have every reason for believing that it has always been literally true that like as a father pitieth his children so the Lord pities us when we hurt ourselves by sinning. Hence we must hold that he did not send his Son into the world to make it possible for him to forgive. Forgiveness is a natural act and is constantly going on in the material world as well as the human. The forces of nature are always striving to

heal wounds and make up for injuries. Man is ever intently searching for nature's remedies, and his great ambition is to find a way by which he can apply them, and give nature a chance to do her normal work.

It did not require any ransom to be paid for sin to induce God to look with favor upon his erring children and allow them to come back. The mission of Jesus, therefore, was not to reconcile God to man, to change God's attitude toward his children, but to inspire in man greater love and devotion to God. Nor was it his work to take away the penalty of wrong-doing, but to help on the abandonment of sinful living. He never claimed to do the former, but constantly spoke of himself as giving his life for the remission of sins.

Jesus is the great inspirer of man to holiness of life, because he showed sinful man that God always loved him, and how he ought to conduct himself in order to enjoy his love and favor. He is the representative to us, under human conditions and limitations, of God our Father. He is not the same as God, but a manifestation of God. God is more than the sum-total of his manifestations just as a man is more than the sum-total of his thoughts. Therefore, we should think of God as more than Jesus, who was the highest form of his manifestation of which we have any knowledge.

Furthermore, when we think of Jesus as manifesting to us the Father, we should not attribute to him a divinity different from that of our divinity. To do so dishonors God. We are as truly sons of God as he was. There are not several different kinds of divinity, but one kind only. Jesus differed from us in the degree to which he manifested the Father and in the purity and holiness of his life. He lived the kind of a life he did because of the conditions of his time. He

suffered because a father always suffers if the one he loves goes astray. Love always sacrifices itself for the object loved if any need arises for so doing. Jesus suffered not to vindicate God's laws, but to reveal God to man and to make known God's love for him even in his sins. God being our Father, we have every reason to suppose that he will do all in his power to disclose his interest in his children, that he will show them by concrete example, and not merely by precepts and commands, how to live the highest life possible under human conditions and limitations. This Jesus did and he had the right to say of himself, "I am the way, the truth, and the life."

We ought not, however, to think of God as having incarnated himself once for all two thousand years ago. He is all the time incarnating himself in human history. We cannot set any limit to the possible forms of his incarnation in the future. We have gone as far as we have any right to go when we say that Jesus was sent into the world "that he might be the first born among many brethren." Because he has shown us the mind and heart of God beyond any other being that has appeared in history we have the right to regard him as embodying our highest conception of God, and to praise and reverence him for what he has done in our behalf.

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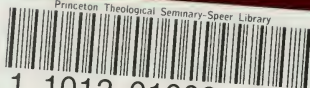
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